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S P E C U L U M

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE 'ENGLISH COMPANY' OF 1343 AND A MERCHANT'S OATH

By GEORGE SAYLES

THE careful study of detail which is generally the mark of scholars whose work deals with original material is apt not to meet with unqualified approval. Yet mediaeval economic history in particular can have no firm foundation in truth save by the labors of specialists who are not ashamed of the accusation that they seek to know more and more about less and less. For the sources of information, where such exist at all, teem with petty detail which yields its secrets only to microscopic research, and an easy credence has been too long given to generalizations which a consideration of documentary evidence would easily have controverted.¹ The commercial policy of Edward III calls loudly for precise examination. We have been told by Dr Cunningham that underneath the rapid and disconcerting fluctuations of royal policy we can discern the working out of an ordered plan for developing the resources and trade of England and its dependencies. His later modifications of this view would seem not to have deprived Edward III of the title of 'Father of English Commerce.'² In opposition we have the sturdy judgement of Stubbs, endorsed recently by the late Professor Unwin,³ that Edward III was simply an unscrupulous opportunist, ready always to mortgage the

¹ Thus, the researches of Professor Gras, set out in his valuable *Early English Customs System* (Cambridge, 1918), have completely discredited the conclusions of previous writers. The view of Dr Cunningham that credit played little or no part in business transactions during the Middle Ages has also failed to survive recent criticism.

² *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (2d. ed., Cambridge, 1890), I, 246, 276 ff.

³ In an illuminating essay on 'The Estate of Merchants, 1336-1365,' contained in *Finance and Trade under Edward III* (Manchester University Press, 1918), ed. George Unwin.

future in the interests of present gain. With such divergence of interpretation there is evidently ample scope for investigation of the most profitable kind. The abundance of surviving material has been the main obstacle, but it is one that should not be regarded as insuperable. For though Dr Tout was mainly interested in the system of accounting and the financial relations between the various administrative departments, yet his work has set up invaluable landmarks for those who venture into the domain of exchequer records.¹ Moreover, Edward III's commercial policy is well suited to treatment by monographs, which can be given a logical beginning and end without demanding an exhaustive examination of the problems of the whole reign.

The aim of this paper is to describe the chequered career of one of the earliest syndicates of English merchants, the 'English Company' founded in 1343. While we can always confidently expect to learn much about what we may call the exoteric history of such associations — the clauses of the contracts with the king and private individuals, the details of the accounting with the exchequer auditors — we have so far been entirely in the dark about their inner domestic history. For once the gloom is dissipated by the evidence of a remarkable document, recently found in the Public Record Office.² It vividly describes the bickerings of merchants and provides us with our earliest known text of a merchant's oath, taken by no less a person than William de la Pole, the famous Hull financier, whose connection with the 'English Company' has been totally unsuspected.

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the revenues of the crown tended to alter in inverse proportion to the needs of government: as administration became more complex and costly and as prices gradually rose, the sources for financing such administration slowly dwindled. Feudal dues were falling into desuetude or becoming fixed in the amount they yielded; subsidies from the clergy and the laity failed to restore the balance and had themselves become

¹ *Chapters in the Administrative History of England* (Manchester University Press, 1928, 1930), III-v.

² Exchequer Plea Roll, 28 Edw. III (E. 13/79), mm. 56-58.

stereotyped in assessment by 1334.¹ A short war was always sufficient to precipitate financial anarchy; indeed, the protracted struggle with France begun in 1337 would have been impossible if some very profitable source of revenue had not been tapped. This was found in a systematic levy on trade, especially in wool, easily the most important article of export. It is true that an embryonic customs system can be faintly seen shortly after the Norman Conquest,² but conditions were unsuited to its development and it can hardly be regarded as the forbear of the well-known levy on wool and leather in 1275 with which the institutional history of the customs is usually taken to begin.³ The *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303 gave protection and privileges to foreign merchants in return for the payment of yet higher rates.⁴ But in times of desperate necessity, the wool trade was made not only to bear customs duties but also to provide subsidies: as England had almost a monopoly of the markets of northwest Europe for her raw wool, there was no reason to fear that a decline in trade would inevitably result. The occasional subsidies levied by Edward I and Edward II⁵ became permanent under Edward III who followed the usual procedure of continuing in times of peace taxation imposed for purposes of war. Parliament gave a wise sanction to what it could not prevent, realizing that the income of the king must be augmented to meet increased costs.⁶ Edward III accordingly farmed out the customs and subsidies to foreign or native merchants in return for immediate grants of money. The history of the 'English Company' is the history of an early, if not the earliest, attempt by a group of English merchants to take over the collection of the taxation on wool and to manipulate the wool trade to their own and the King's advantage.

¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 1, 273 ff.: a fifteenth and a tenth henceforward implied a grant of about £39,000.

² Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.

³ *Parliamentary Writs* (Record Commission, 2 vols. in 4, London, 1827-34), 1, i, 2: all merchants were to pay half a mark on each sack of wool and every 300 woollfells and one mark on each last of hides, exported from England, Ireland, and Wales.

⁴ Gras, *op. cit.*, 259-264: foreign merchants were to pay an additional 50 per cent on the above rates.

⁵ In 1294 (*Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 347); in 1322 (*Cal. Patent Rolls, 1321-1324*, p. 282). For detailed accounts of these subsidies, see Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 516-522.

⁶ Under Edward III the rate was usually 40/-a sack.

Before discussing the activities of the 'English Company,' we must outline briefly the circumstances which explain how it came about that its intimate story was openly revealed in a court of law.¹

On May 21, 1346, an agreement was made by the King with two prominent merchants, Walter Chiriton and Thomas Swanland, whereby they were granted the farm of the customs and subsidies for two years from the following Michaelmas in return for a guaranteed sum of £50,000 a year and an immediate advance of £4,000.² The arrangement proved to the advantage of both parties. The King was able to carry through the campaign of Crécy and the long siege of Calais; if we can believe the *ex parte* statement of the commons in the Lent parliament of 1348,³ the subsidy on wools amounted to £60,000 a year, so that the firm of Chiriton and Swanland, which had the backing of other merchants,⁴ had a considerable margin of profit. In consequence, on May 2, 1348, the King renewed the contract for a further period of three years from the ensuing Michaelmas at the same annual fee of £50,000, but now associated Gilbert Wendlingburgh as equal partner with the two merchants.⁵ But an unforeseen event cut short the period of prosperity: the Black Death reached English shores in August, 1348, and soon brought all business to a standstill.⁶ Chiriton and Co. could not bide by their agreement and on March 15, 1349, the King suspended the export of wool and seized the possessions of the three merchants until they made suitable ar-

¹ S. B. Terry, *The Financing of the Hundred Years' War, 1337-1360* (London: Constable, 1914) is the only work which purports to give a detailed survey of fiscal policy. Its general conclusions are not obvious and its value as a compendium of facts is destroyed by the inaccuracies to be found on almost every page.

² *Cal. Close Rolls (1346-1349)*, p. 72. The custom of wine and the ancient custom of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark on each sack of wool were retained by the King to meet certain obligations already incurred. Other clauses were inserted to remove the dangers resulting from outbreak of war, smuggling, fraudulent customs officers and overdrafts by the King. The contract was confirmed by letters patent of the same date, signifying that it was made in the King's presence, with his knowledge and by his express command; *Cal. Patent Rolls (1345-1348)*, p. 133.

³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum* ([1765]; no pub., no date), II, 200b.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls (1346-1349)*, p. 122; *Cal. Patent Rolls (1345-1348)*, pp. 130, 133, 277, 453, 569.

⁵ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1348-1350)*, pp. 99, 145.

⁶ The courts ceased to hear pleas from Hilary until Michaelmas 1349 (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1349-1354*, pp. 1, 28); parliament itself, summoned to meet in January 1349, was first adjourned and then indefinitely suspended (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1346-1349*, p. 613; *1349-1354*, p. 66).

rangements for settling their debts.¹ This they managed to do on April 21 at a meeting 'in the new chamber, near the receipt of the exchequer, ordained for the council': a body of thirty-two merchants offered to act as guarantors of Chiriton and Co. on condition that four of them could have joint control of the cocket seals in all the ports of England and of the issues of the customs and subsidies. Thereupon, the farm was restored to the three merchants, who were to be solely held to account for debts which had already been incurred since Michaelmas, 1348, though their guarantors assumed equal responsibility for the payment of the £125,000 due on the remaining two and a half years of the original contract.²

What exactly happened during the next twelve months is far from clear, though the new arrangement held good during that time.³ But it failed in its purpose and seems from the start to have had little chance of success.⁴ On June 16, 1350, the lands of Chiriton, Swanland, and Wendlingburgh were again in the King's hands for debts,⁵ and four days later the supervision of all business relating to the customs was entrusted to two attorneys of the group of guarantors.⁶ They acted for what was left of the three years' contract,⁷ although responsibility still lay, of course, with all the merchants involved.⁸ At Michaelmas, 1351, they were called to strict account. William Melchebourn, the most influential of the guarantors, was arrested at the exchequer for debts due to the King and released on mainprise on October 12;⁹ the following week Chiriton and Swanland

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls (1349-1354)*, pp. 59, 61.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 30, 33; cf. *Cal. Fine Rolls (1347-1356)*, p. 186.

³ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1348-1350)*, p. 441; *Cal. Close Rolls (1349-1354)*, p. 175.

⁴ The collectors of the customs were with difficulty induced to give up the cocket seals (*Cal. Patent Rolls, 1348-1350*, p. 323; *Cal. Close Rolls, 1349-1354*, p. 46) or to render their accounts (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1349-1354*, p. 101 f.).

⁵ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1348-1350)*, p. 548.

⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls (1349-1354)*, p. 196. Cf. *Cal. Patent Rolls (1348-1350)*, p. 557 for a somewhat different version of this arrangement.

⁷ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1348-1350)*, p. 579, (1350-1354), p. 2: it was by their sole assent that Richard Melchebourn was appointed to supervise the weighing of wool in the ports on the east coast. *Cal. Close Rolls (1354-1360)*, p. 465: the accounts of John Malewayn, one of the two attorneys, covered the period up to Michaelmas, 1351.

⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls (1349-1354)*, pp. 287, 296.

⁹ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1350-1354)*, p. 148.

obtained similar release on condition that they constantly held themselves in readiness to appear at the exchequer to make a settlement with the King.¹ But the King was not easily satisfied, and the merchants were all by this time bankrupt. No other creditors could press their claims until the King had been fully paid.² This prohibition of private suits³ caused an outcry in the January parliament of 1352 but little consolation was given: judgements might be obtained against the merchants but they were not to be executed until the King's demands had been met.⁴ The proceedings dragged their weary length along for several years, Those who had lent their reputations to Chiriton and Co. but possessed nothing of the issues of the customs did not get their liberty till February, 1356.⁵ In October, John Bole of Lincoln was so reduced that he had not the wherewithal to live and his chattels were restored to him.⁶ In December, small yearly pittances were given to other guarantors for the maintenance of themselves, their wives, and their children so long as their property remained in the King's custody.⁷ Not until October, 1358, were the surviving eighteen guarantors and the heirs of those deceased discharged of their responsibility for debts due to the King and their lands restored to them free of any further claims.⁸ With the collapse of Chiriton and Co., involving in ruin countless lesser men, the day of the high financier and the monopolist was over for a time; the Ordinances of the Staple of 1353 established home staples and freedom of trade which left no opening for their activities, if there still existed any bold enough to tempt fortune and the King.

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls (1349-1354)*, p. 394.

² *Cl. Cal. Patent Rolls (1350-1354)*, p. 265: imprisonment of John Piel for accepting part payment of his claims prior to the settlement of those of the King. Also *Cal. Close Rolls (1354-1360)*, p. 380: one Walter Payle languished in the Fleet prison for eight years for accepting similar payments.

³ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1350-1354)*, pp. 303, 350, 360, 361, 423, 496.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, II, 242 (49).

⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls (1354-1360)*, p. 301.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 284 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 291. Walter Chiriton presented a petition in July, 1355, which exhibited the distress of himself and his children (*ibid.*, p. 140).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 465. The statement that in 1376 'on the petition of parliament, Edward III cancelled his claim against de Chiriton and his partners' (Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 160) is based on *Rot. Parl.* II, 365, which says not a word to that effect.

It was in the course of proceedings in the exchequer that the story of the 'English Company' was brought to light. For Chiriton, Swanland, and Wendlingburgh had taken solemn oath before the council that they would divulge the names of those who were in debt to them so that the King might recover those debts in part cancellation of what was owing to himself. On November 26, 1353, they appeared before the barons of the exchequer and disclosed the inner history of the syndicate of 1343.

It had come into existence in this way. Until the end of 1342, Edward III had relied in financial matters mainly upon the foreign merchants of such societies as the Bardi and the Perruzzi,¹ the Astioli and the Albertini, and on the merchants of the Hanse. Complaints had long been voiced in parliament against their hold upon English commerce, but native merchants had not been strong enough to contest their supremacy and to take their place. But the years taught them coöperation and organization and they joined issue with the foreigners in 1343. During the Easter parliament, they indignantly protested that they 'were impoverished by the Companies of the Peruzzi and the Bardi and other Companies, who had the greater part of their goods in their custody,'² and arrangements were made that at last implied the partial ousting of the foreigner. On June 22, the collectors of the customs at London, Southampton, Boston, and Kingston-upon-Hull were forbidden after Midsummer Day to pay any part of the subsidy on wool and hides to the merchants of Lucca and Almain, to whom it had been previously granted.³ On July 8, 1343, a bargain was made between the King and a body of thirty-three merchants who formed the 'English Company':⁴ in return for a grant of the customs and subsidies from Midsummer until three

¹ It has been calculated that these companies alone advanced nearly £360,000 to Edward III before that King repudiated his debts to them; E. Russell, 'The Societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi,' in *Trade and Finance under Edward III*, p. 131.

² *Rot. Parl.* II, 143a.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls (1343-1346)*, p. 136.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266 f. The Calendar, followed by Unwin (*op. cit.*, p. 215), gives the names of thirty-four merchants of the Company, but this is due to reading two members into the 'William de Roderham attorne William de Amyas' of the original. That William of Rotherham was acting as the attorney of William Amyas is shown by the writ printed in the *Lords' Reports* (London, 1820-1829), IV, 555. The Company took all precautions against royal chi-

years after the following Michaelmas, they agreed to pay 1000 marks into the wardrobe every four weeks and account quarterly for the balance. Besides thus paying over the whole of the customs and subsidies to the King, they were to provide him in addition with 10,000 marks each year. The question at once arises concerning the sources of profit which made this undertaking advantageous to the Company. In the first place, it is certain that the thirty-three merchants enjoyed a monopoly of the export of wool and could therefore fix their own selling price at the staple at Bruges. In the second place, they stood to gain a good deal by arrangements recently made with regard to the Dordrecht claimants. In 1337 a syndicate of merchants, armed with the royal prerogative of pre-emption, had undertaken to purchase 20,000 sacks of wool, sell them at a profit by using a monopoly, and therefrom to provide the King with £200,000. Nearly 15,000 sacks had been exported to Dordrecht for sale when in May, 1338, the King seized the wool and gave in return mere paper acknowledgments of indebtedness which were not likely to be met directly or immediately. Edward's action, precipitated by the needs of the moment, hampered his movements in all his later years. He had to continue business relations with the wool-growers and traders whom he had cheated; their only hope of saving something from the wreck was to obtain total or partial exemption from customs dues when they exported wool in future.¹ Such exemptions for the amount he owed Edward could hardly refuse to grant, but they were not likely to be honored so long as the customs remained under the King's control. They must therefore be placed in the hands of those who would have an interest in giving practical effect to the exemptions. Therein lies one important reason for the formation of the 'English Company.' But by 1343 many merchants who had exported wool in 1337

canery: it was to appoint the customs officers at the ports, control the cocket seals, and have just allowances if anything occurred to obstruct the wool trade. Another copy of the indenture is to be found on Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll, 17 Edw. III (E. 159/120), Michaelmas Record.

¹ Such a method of payment was frequently agreed upon and it partly explains the willingness of the merchants to grant the subsidy of 40/-. But the repayment of what has been calculated as £80,000 (Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 21) was extremely slow and the Dordrecht problem never vanished until the end of the reign.

had died or were no longer in a position to engage in trade. The Company was therefore authorized to buy up and use the licences of exemption. It was in a position to dictate its own prices and bitter complaints were later made of ruinous discounts.¹ Since on July 16, 1343,² some 230 merchants or their executors had been granted exemptions to the amount of nearly £50,000,³ there was ample room for profitable bargaining on the part of the Company.

On July 28, 1343, the officials of the ports were ordered to deliver the customs and subsidies to the representatives of the merchants.⁴ For a full year the Company went on its way undisturbed and flourished sufficiently to be able to make additional loans to the King and to discharge some of his more pressing debts.⁵ In April, 1344, the King confirmed the agreement that the keeper of the wardrobe should accept monthly payments of 1000 marks until Michaelmas, 1346.⁶ But to the country in general and to the merchant class as a whole it must have seemed as though the wool trade was designed merely for the benefit of a few men who, under existing arrangements, had excellent chances of acquiring wealth. The Dordrecht claimants had more definite reasons for indignation. Resentment expressed itself in the Midsummer parliament of 1344, when a demand was made that the monopoly of exporting wool should be abolished and that trade and the seas should be free to all merchants.⁷ The King was moved to give his consent,⁸ perhaps by the thought that thereby he would more easily obtain a grant of tenths and fifteenths;⁹ as the subsidy on wool had more than two years still to go, he need not scruple about deserting the Company and alienating some of the most powerful English merchants. On the other hand, he may well have considered

¹ *Rot. Parl.* II, 169b, 170: only one to two shillings were obtained in the pound.

² *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343-1346), p. 101: on May 26, 1343, a general proclamation was made that all to whom the King was indebted should come before the council at Westminster on June 15.

³ *Ibid.*, (1343-1346), pp. 138-151.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343-1346), p. 78.

⁵ *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1343-1345), p. 115 f. (August 30, 1343); p. 156 (January 20, 1344); p. 206 (February, 15, 1344).

⁶ *Cal. Fine Rolls* (1337-1347), p. 365.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.* II, 150 (no. 5); p. 151 (no. 16).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156 (no. 49).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148. See Unwin, *op. cit.*, p. 215 f.

that the Company had too much the best of the bargain and could afford to forgo some of its profits. As soon as free trade took the place of monopoly, the syndicate showed signs of disintegration. On August 20, Reginald Conduit withdrew on the plea that other business considerations prevented his being able to devote time to the Company's affairs; in less than a month twenty other members retired on similar grounds.¹ But the Company believed that it could yet face the future boldly. It may have had in its possession a stock of the Dordrecht licences of exemption from customs which would yield considerable profit if the customs still remained under its control. Certainly, the twelve merchants remaining were willing to fulfil the original obligations, to hand over a not inconsiderable sum to their former colleagues on their retiral, and to agree in March, 1345, to pay £50,000 a year to the King in lieu of the complicated system whereby they accounted to the King for sums for which the collectors accounted to them.² The resumption of war, however, in the spring of 1345 and the consequent interference with the wool trade brought the activities of the Company to a close. Its affairs were evidently the subject of serious discussion in July: the twelve merchants were summoned to Westminster on July 9, along with the veterans John Pulteny and William de la Pole;³ the next day saw the dispatch of writs to nineteen of the twenty-one former members of the Company and twenty-three other merchants, ordering them to assemble at Westminster on July 13;⁴ then once more the twelve merchants with Reginald Conduit were to be at Westminster on July 18.⁵ There is no clue to the exact purport of the deliberations; we only know that they did not prevent the winding up of the 'English Company.' On August 30, 1345, the King allowed the contract to be broken as from the preceding Midsummer on payment of 5000 marks, provided that the Company, which vaguely attributed its fall to war 'and other losses,' remained responsible for the full £100,000 due to the King

¹ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1343-1345)*, n. 340.

² *Cal. Close Rolls (1343-1346)*, p. 573 f. The '14 Edward III' of the *Calendar* is a slip for '19 Edward III,' as the original patent roll shows.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls (1343-1346)*, p. 637.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 638; *Lords' Reports*, iv, 555.

⁵ *Ut supra.*

from the operations of the last two years.¹ Melchebourn was busy accounting with the exchequer on behalf of the Company in the early months of 1346.² We may perhaps infer that satisfaction was made to the King from the fact that the merchants who had been foremost in the Company were soon equally as prominent in new contracts with the crown.

If no other sources of information except chancery enrolments had been at our disposal, we should have remained in complete ignorance of the important part played by William Pole in the Company's affairs. For all they have to tell us is that in July, 1343, some of his Dordrecht claims were sold to a member of the Company,³ and that in June, 1345, the Company was instructed to pay him the arrears of an annual sum granted to him in 1337 by the King from the customs at Kingston-upon-Hull.⁴ In 1341 Pole had come under the displeasure of the King and been committed to prison for some time,⁵ and it has been somewhat naturally assumed that he then forsook the world of speculation⁶ which had brought him wealth enough to be the first business man to found a noble house.⁷ But we are now provided with the assurance of credible witnesses in what must have been a *cause célèbre* of the time that Pole was the founder and principal director of the 'English Company.'

The pleadings in the exchequer are given with an unusual wealth

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343-1346), p. 648 f. and cf. also p. 601. This agreement was confirmed by an order of December 4, 1345, to the treasurer and barons (*ibid.*, p. 630). The entry is misread by Terry (*op. cit.*, p. 122) to mean an acquittance of the whole £100,000. The farm of the customs was in the hands of John Wesenham, Simon his brother, and Richard de Salteby from Midsummer, 1345, until Michaelmas, 1346 (*Chancery Miscellanea*, 87/6/96). Then came the agreement with Chiriton and Swanland; see above, p. 180.

² *Cal. Close Rolls* (1346-1349), p. 4; *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1345-1348), p. 55.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343-1346), p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

⁵ Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum* (Rolls Series, London, 1889), p. 117; *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1340-1343), p. 110 f. He was imprisoned in the castle at Devizes; Aungier, *French Chronicle of London* (London: Camden Society, 1844), p. 35.

⁶ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XLVI, 48-50; Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 101: 'De la Pole seems to have formally retired from active life with his acquittance.'

⁷ The financial transactions of Pole with Edward III from 1327 are tabulated in H. A. Napier, *Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme in the County of Oxford* (Oxford, 1858), pp. 271 ff. There is a popular and laudatory life of Pole in H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Merchants* (3d. ed., London, 1898), I, 33 ff.

of detail, but, like most of the important law-suits in the Middle Ages, the case does not reach a final judgement. We purpose, therefore, to state the evidence and the procedure without comment and afterwards proceed to our own judicial summing up.

On November 26, 1353, Chiriton, Swanland, and Wendlingburgh came before the barons of the exchequer and deposed that thirty-three merchants, including themselves¹ whose names they carefully recount, had formed a company at the suggestion of William Pole, and had been thereafter ruled by his advice. In the course of its operations, this 'English Company' had incurred debts to some forty persons amounting to £7340/11/4. Though all solvent members of the Company were equally responsible for the payment of these sums, yet Chiriton and his two colleagues alone had discharged the debts out of the proceeds of the customs when they were under their control. They had thus exonerated Pole from his obligation, though he had been well able to pay his share at the time. They now asked that Pole should now be made to shoulder these debts, for he was still solvent, while they had not realized that they could not square their accounts with the King and were virtually bankrupts when they had made payment. The sum could then be deducted from the amount they owed the King as a result of the contract of 1348.

An order was issued for the appearance of William Pole on the morrow. He then came in person before the council in the exchequer and took a solemn oath that he had never been a member of the Company and had never as such had anything to do with its affairs or directed its concerns. The way was now open for the examination of evidence.

The plaintiffs put forward in proof of their statements a notarial instrument, dated July 10, 1344,² alleged to contain the terms of an oath, set out in French, by which Pole had sworn allegiance to the 'English Company.' This oath, it was said, was taken in Chiriton's

¹ But in actual fact excluding Gilbert Wendlingburgh who, though a party to the action, was never a member of the Company. Pole eventually put forward this objection and Wendlingburgh was accordingly non-suited; see below, p. 192.

² The oath seems to have been taken at this particular time as a result of re-arrangements in the Company's affairs, for the wool monopoly had just been abolished at parliament's request; see p. 182 above.

house in London in the presence of Chirton himself and of two other members of the Company, Walter Prest and Henry Tideswell, specially summoned as witnesses. The instrument containing it was specially drawn up by Thomas Hammond of Ashwell, clerk and apostolic notary in the diocese of Lincoln. This oath is of unique interest for, so far as we know, nothing similar to it has yet come to light. Its twelve clauses are admirably brief:

(a) The ordinances of the Company shall be kept strictly secret and revealed to no one save by its consent and to its advantage.

(b) Pole shall give the utmost of advice to the Company, concealing nothing that might promote its interests.

(c) He shall urge no course of procedure which he knows will lead to his own personal profit but prove detrimental to the Company.

(d) He shall be loyal to whatever is done by the Company and not seek to make a personal profit out of such transactions.

(e) If he acts as the Company's agent in financial matters, he shall render true account of every penny and hide nothing.

(f) If the Company incurs losses, he shall contribute his share in any expenses necessary to maintain the Company, and this without demur.

(g) He shall not oppose any ordinance profitable to the Company which relates to their contract and is made during the term of their agreement, nor shall he quash any such ordinance without the Company's assent.

(h) He shall be obedient to all present and future ordinances of the Company.

(i) He shall be humble and reasonable both in word and deed in his relations with present and future members of the Company.

(j) Should a quarrel arise between him and another member of the Company, he shall not proceed against him nor reveal aught of the quarrel save only to the Company. Should there be an altercation amongst the other partners, he shall do his best to provide a reasonable remedy in accordance with the advice of the rest of the Company.

(k) He shall, to the best of his ability, see that debts due from the

King to others of the Company get as favorable consideration as such debts to himself.

(1) He shall always give his advice to the Company in private and never openly interfere in its ordinances and accounts unless at the Company's express request.

In addition to this document, the plaintiffs produced for the inspection of the court the transcript of a chancery writ of *dedimus potestatem* dated August 28, 1344, and addressed to William Pole and Roger de Wollesthorne, another member of the Company. It gave them authority to examine twelve members of the Company who pleaded that other business considerations demanded their withdrawal from active partnership. On the strength of this writ, it was asserted, Pole as a member of the Company had removed twenty-one of the partners and paid them nearly £2000 from the proceeds of the customs and subsidies, presumably as representing the amount of their financial interest. Thereafter Pole proceeded to a further reconstruction of the Company. Six of the remaining twelve members¹ took joint oath with Pole that they would act in matters affecting the Company in accordance with his instructions, and four of them² were appointed to act as receivers of the Company's moneys. The other six members³ were to become sleeping partners and four of them⁴ were given nearly £500 from the customs receipts, probably in order to lessen their risk somewhat by diminishing the amount of their investment.

Faced with such specific charges, Pole thought it discreet to ask that he might be given till the next day to prepare his reply. His request was granted. The court further ordered the appearance of the threewitnesses of the notarial instrument, Thomas Hammond, Walter Chirton, and Henry Tideswell, and of two of the best-known men in the Company, William Melchebourn who had continued as one of the active members and Hugh de Ulseby who became a sleeping partner.

¹ William Melchebourn, Richard Melchebourn, Walter Prest, Henry Tideswell, Walter Chirton, and Roger de Wollesthorne.

² The last four mentioned in the previous note.

³ Adam Lucas, John Astwyk, Hugh de Ulseby, Thomas Swanland, William de Lodelow, and William de Rotherham.

⁴ The last four mentioned in the previous note.

On November 28, 1353, therefore, came the examination in chief. Thomas Hammond, placed on oath, maintained that he had written the notarial instrument, that he had been present when the things contained in it were done, and had seen Pole swear his oath in Chiriton's house in London on June 10.¹ Moreover, he exhibited in court another instrument made by him in Pole's name alone and of the same date and place, which contained an identical version of the clauses of the oath. Walter Chiriton declared that at Pole's request he had agreed to be a witness to these matters, and that he had heard Pole ask the notary to draw up an instrument containing their substance. He further stated that Pole was indeed a member of the Company and that it was by his advice that its reconstruction was carried through. Henry Tideswell gave exactly similar evidence and added that, whenever William Pole was residing in his own local district, he had made Henry his deputy in transacting the Company's business. Nor, said Tideswell, would he ever have taken any oath in these matters if Pole had not first sworn loyalty to the above agreement. Thomas Swanland and William Melchebourn likewise stated that Pole was the founder and principal director of the Company and entirely responsible for whatever it had done. In answer to questions put point-blank to them, the last four witnesses agreed that William Pole founded the Company, sued out the chancery writ for the removal of the twenty-one partners, and arranged that they should receive the sums of money already specified.

The last witness, Hugh de Ulseby, had a more circumstantial tale to tell. William Pole was a member of the Company and, acting in that capacity, he had promised Hugh £200 to refrain from any further participation in the business. Pole had paid him £100 only, and Hugh had therefore commissioned him to give two-thirds of the remainder to Henry Tideswell in part payment of a loan which the latter had made to Hugh. This sum Pole had never paid to Henry but had kept it and the rest of the £100 in his pocket. Further, Hugh stated that Pole had promised to indemnify him against any demands

¹ Chiriton and Swanland seem to have shared a house in London; *Exchequer Plea Roll*, 28 Edw. III (E. 13/79), m. 59: 'in communi domo habitacionis eorumdem mercatorum in parochia Omnium Sanctorum in Temestrete in warda de Dounegate.'

made either by the King or the Company and that an indenture to that effect, which remained in the custody of Pole, had been made between Hugh and the merchants of the Company.

Pole seems to have made no attempt then to answer these charges. He eventually proffered a writ of privy seal, dated at Westminster on December 14, 1353, and addressed to the chancellor, the treasurer, the barons of the exchequer, and others of the council: the King announced that it was his pleasure that all processes begun against Pole either in the exchequer or before the council, whether the King was a party to them or Chiriton and his colleagues, should be postponed until the Morrow of the Purification. Thereupon, Pole was ordered to appear on that day and found mainprise on December 15 that he would do so.

The rest of the case need not delay us long, for it came to no satisfactory conclusion. In the Hilary term, Pole brought another writ of privy seal ordering an adjournment until Easter; then, on the plea that he had not yet fully prepared his defence, Pole obtained another adjournment until the Trinity term. This time he failed to put in an appearance at the stipulated time and was committed to the Fleet prison for contempt. He still asserted that he could not yet reply to the charges made against him 'because the process needed great examination,' and the plaintiffs consented that he should be given a day in the Michaelmas term. On October 13, 1354, Pole made fine with the King for his contempt of court and regained his liberty, but still he avoided answering his opponents by bringing yet another writ of privy seal ordering the continuation of the case until the Hilary term of 1355. On this occasion Pole and Wendlingburgh appeared, but not the other two plaintiffs, who were therefore ordered to be arrested. Pole protested that he ought not to be called upon to answer Wendlingburgh who certainly never was a member of the Company. This Wendlingburgh could not gainsay, therefore Pole was acquitted so far as his suit was concerned and Wendlingburgh was fined for making an unjust claim. Swanland came into court later in this term and was committed to the Fleet for contempt but he was immediately allowed to make fine for his release, for ade-

quate testimony was brought to show that he had been seriously ill.¹ Then once more came Pole with the inevitable writ, this time under the great seal,² ordering the plea to be continued until the Easter term. Then at last the plea in the exchequer reached its inconclusive end. Pole brought a writ under the great seal, dated as far back as November 20, 1354,³ which granted many concessions in return for Pole's remission of the King's debts to him, 'although they amount to a great sum.' It was contained, *inter alia*, that if it should happen that Pole, his heirs, executors, or tenants of his lands were impleaded by the King in connection with any 'societas' or other contract so that judgement was given for the King and against them and others of the 'societas,' then they were to be exonerated from the payment of their share of any sum of money that might be awarded to the King. If through the insolvency of others the burden of the whole amount should fall on them, then still they were to be exonerated. Should Pole be impleaded in the exchequer and judgement go against him, he was to be pardoned any fine that might fall due to the King, while any other party to the suit was to seek recovery at common law. Indeed, henceforth William Pole was to be impleaded only in the courts where common law held good and nowhere else. So came to an abrupt close the proceedings in the exchequer; so far as the action of the King was concerned Pole was acquitted *sine die*.

It is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that Pole had indeed founded and controlled the 'English Company.' A few circumstances may give rise to some doubt, but they are not difficult to explain away. Pole's emphatic denial was, of course, merely the formal rebuttal of the charge made against him and was later given the support of not one jot of evidence. A captious litigant might have sought in a more formal court of law to take shelter behind apparent discrepancies in the record: since the writ of *dedimus potestatem*

¹ On March 11, 1355, the keeper of the Fleet prison was ordered to release Walter Chiriton on mainprise to appear in the exchequer on the Morrow of the Close of Easter (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1354-1360*, p. 183).

² *Cal. Close Rolls (1354-1360)*, p. 183.

³ This writ is also to be found on the Patent Roll. The compiler of the *Calendar (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1354-1358, p. 158)* summarized the first part of the writ but completely ignored the latter part which has direct reference to this case.

spoke only of removing twelve members of the Company, how could it be the authority for the retiral of twenty-one members?¹ But the real puzzle lies in the fact that Pole's connection with the Company remained unmentioned amongst the numerous references contained in the chancery rolls. Two reasons can be put forward in explanation. Henry Tideswell had asserted that he was appointed Pole's deputy to act during his absence, and it was not unknown for those who were made the attorneys of merchants of the Company to be alluded to as members to the complete suppression of the names of those they represented.² The most likely reason, however, is to be found in the last clause of the oath: Pole was to give advice privately and never openly to interfere. It is easy to surmise why this stipulation was made. Pole had been mainly responsible for the arrangements made in 1337 which had ultimately resulted in the confiscation of wool at Dordrecht and great financial loss to many merchants. For some time his usefulness to the King made his position impregnable, but even the royal favor was temporarily lost in 1341 when he was sent to prison and a commission was set up in parliament to examine his accounts.³ Nor did he receive his full discharge until August, 1344.⁴ It might well have seemed bad policy to reveal *coram populo* that Pole was the originator of yet another syndicate; to do so would be to create prejudice against the Company at once. Yet any group of merchants may well have hesitated before rejecting proposals made by a financier of such undoubted ability and experience as William Pole. An obvious solution was for Pole to become an active but also a secret participator in the enterprise. But whatever the motives may be for hiding the fact of his connection with the Company,

¹ But the patent roll (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1343-1345, p. 340) supports the plaintiff's contention in general, though it adds itself a little mystification. For though the writ of *dedimus potestatem* was dated August 28, Reginald Conduit would seem to have retired on August 20. Twenty others were given permission to leave the Company on September 16.

² William of Rotherham was the attorney of William Amyas (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1343-1346, p. 266; *Lords' Reports*, iv, 555), yet in the list of the members of the Company, given in the document printed below, his name appears alone. See *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1345-1348) p. 48 for another example of a merchant of the Company appointing an attorney.

³ *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1340-1343), p. 313. There is a hint of Pole's malpractices in the exchequer in *Year Book*, 15 Edward III (Rolls Series, London, 1891), p. 189.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343-1346), p. 423.

this can hardly be denied in face of the unanimous testimony of men like Melchebourn and Ulseby. The outburst of Tideswell that he would never have taken any oath if he had not known first that Pole had solemnly sworn adherence to the Company has all the ring of truth. Many of the details of the Company's operations square with the facts revealed by other records. Thus, there were thirty-three members in 1343;¹ twenty-one of them certainly retired a year later;² the six members who were alleged at the trial to have constituted the active group among the remaining twelve partners are named together on May 28, 1345, as acting for themselves and their fellow-merchants.³ Lastly, and most conclusive of all, it is evident that Pole could find no answer to the imputations. Time after time he simply took shelter behind the King and ultimately bought his acquittal. The references in the royal letters of pardon⁴ to his connection with a 'societas' make only one verdict possible. When the life of William Pole comes to be written, it is unlikely that he will retain the title of 'the most honest and honorable of subjects,'⁵ but further research will hardly deprive him of the fame accorded to him by a contemporary chronicler, 'nulli Angligenae mercatori secundus fuit.'⁶

APPENDIX

Exchequer Plea Roll, 28 Edward III (E. 13/79), ms. 56-58.

Adhuc de quindena sancti Michaelis anno xxviiij.

London.

Memorandum quod cum Walterus de Chiriton' Thomas de Swanlund' et Gilbertus de Wendlyngburgh' pro se et sociis suis regi teneantur in xiiij.m^l. Dxxv. li'. x.d.ob'. q^a. de remanencia xxv.m^l. Deccii^{xx}.ix li'. xvij d. ob'. q^a. de arreragiis L.m^l. li'. de arreragiis firme pro omnibus custumis magnis et paruis regi debitis in quibuscumque portubus Anglie de anno xxij regis nunc, custuma vinorum excepta, et in aliis debitis diuersis sicut continentur in

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls (1343-1346)*, p. 266 f.

² See above, p. 182 n. 4.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls (1343-1346)*, p. 572.

⁴ See above, p. 193.

⁵ Bourne, *English Merchants*, I, 44. Pole obtained another pardon in May, 1363, for deceitful practices, for which he had been indicted in the king's bench (*Cal. Patent Rolls, 1361-1364*, p. 342).

⁶ *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Rolls Series, London, 1866-1868), III, 48.

magno rotulo de anno xxv^{to} regis nunc in London', Midd', iidemque Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus et socii sui minus sufficientes existant ad debita predicta regi soluenda.

Et predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus prestiterunt sacramentum coram consilio regis ad demonstrandum et declarandum eidem consilio vbi qualiter et quo modo denarii regis quos idem rex perdidit super cheuanciis per dictos Walterum Thomam et Gilbertum et socios suos factis deuenerunt. Ita quod, si aliquis inuentus foret debitor prefatis Waltero Thome et Gilberto et sociis suis per veram et iustam causam, quod rex propter insuficienciam eorumdem Walteri Thome et Gilberti et sociorum suorum capere posset ad dictos debitores et dictos denarios versus eos in exoneracionem dictorum Walteri Thome et Gilberti et sociorum suorum recuperare vt eidem regi cicuis satisfiat de debitis suis predictis iuxta prerogatiuum suam in hac parte. ¶ Predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus veniunt coram baronibus xxvj^{to} die Nouembris hoc anno et dicunt pro rege et se ipsis quod cum predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus et socii sui, videlicet Thomas de Melchebourn', Rogerus de Wolssthorp', Henricus de Tideswell', Walterus Prest, Walterus de Chiriton', Willelmus de Melchebourn', Thomas de Swanlund', Adam Lucas, Iohannes de Astwyk', Hugo de Vlsey, Willelmus de Lodelowe, Willelmus de Roderham, Reginaldus de Conductu, Robertus de Shiluyngton', Henricus Goldbetere, Thomas de Yafford', Willelmus Bat, Thomas Gouk', Henricus de Alyngton', Robertus Pynsson', Thomas de Drayton', Robertus de Penreth', Robertus Coksid, Gilbertus Aliland', Hugo Cokheued', Ricardus Galeway, Iohannes de Bole, Rogerus Hardegray, Adam Tirewhit, Robertus Stuffyn, Robertus Dalderby, Walterus de Kelsterne et Thomas de Berwyk' mercatores de societate Angl',¹ de qua societate quidam Willelmus de la Pole vnus et inceptor eiusdem extitit et per consilium et ordinacionem suam omnia fiebant tempore quo dicta societas separauit, videlicet tenebantur diuersis personis in diuersis debitis, videlicet,

Rogero Fynch' vinetario London'	viiij. li'.
Item domino Iohanni de Wynkefeld'	xx. li'.
Item Thome de Frelonde	L. li'.
Item Stephano Treiew de Wynchelse	Cxxiiij. li'. xix.s. ii.d.
Item Hugoni de Portesmouth'	Cxl. li'.
Item Willelmo Clapitus et Henrico de Strete	CCCxlii. li'.
Item domino Iohanni de Pulteneye	CCC. li'.
Item dicto domino Iohanni de Pulteneye pro Iohanne de Wesenham	DCCii ^{xx} . li'.

¹ As there are two possible extensions of this word, either 'Anglie' or 'Anglicorum,' we have preferred to leave it in its contracted form.

Item Iohanni Herewardstoke	CC. li'.
Item Simoni Benyngton'	xxxix. li'. xiii.s. iii.d.
Item Henrico Brokon' pro Iohanne de Coloigne	xl. li'.
Item Ricardo de Stondon'	Cx.s. viii.d.
Item Thome de Mussenden' pro Thoma Coteller de Gippewico	xiii. li'.
Item Thome Cotiller predicto	xxvi.li'. vi.s. iii. d. ob.
Item Willelmo Watford' piscatori	CC. li'.
Item Andree Aubrey	Dxx. li'.
Item Willelmo de Tudenham pro Francisco Bochel	Lxvi. li'. xiii.s. iii.d.
Item Ricardo Chaucer	CCCC. li'.
Item eidem Ricardo	xx li'.
Item Iohanni de Bucham et Iohanni de Pacton'	Clxii. li'. x.s.
Item Roberto Ropere	Lxx. li'. xviii.s. iii.d.
Item Willelmo de Wircestre	CCLxvi. li'. xiii.s. iiiid.
Item Stephano Michel et Iohanni de Colewell'	CC. li'.
Item Iohanni Reynbergh' mercatori Alemannie	L. li'.
Item Ricardo Lacer	CCCC. li'.
Item Tidemanno Washmod' et Iohanni Reyn- bergh' Alemannie mercatoribus	Clxxv. li'.
Item Egidio Horn' de Couentre	Lx. li'.
Item Nicholao Pychford'	ii ^{xx} . li'.
Item Ade Leuot	Cii ^{xx} .xviii.li'. viii.s.
Item Iohanni Neuow	ix li'. xv.s.
Item Willelmo de Lodelowe	xviii. li'. xvii.s.
Item Thome Dysny	xii. li'.
Item Petro Faelore	Cii ^{xx} .viii. li'. x.s.
Item Roberto Lyndraper	xxviii. li'.
Item Bartholomeo Thomasin	Cxl. li'. iii.s. viii.d.
Item eidem Bartholomeo	Cxx. li'.
Item Hugoni Roubury glouere	xl. li'. iii.s. iii.d.
Item Henrico de Strete	Cxxxiii li'. vi.s. viii.d.
Item eidem Henrico	Cx. li'.
Item Tidemanno de Lymbergh'	Clxx. li'. vii.s.x.d.
Item Willelmo Clapitus Henrico de Strete et Arnaldo Bernaters Gascoign'	DCCCC. li'.
Item Thome Worsship'	xl. li'.
Item Willelmo de Caue Pellipar'	Cii ^{xx} .x. li'.
Item Bartholomeo Denmarcz	Lxxvii. li'. vi.s. viii.d.
Item Willelmo Boox	CCxxxv. li'. vi.[s] viii.d.

Vnde summa totalis vii.m¹.ccc.xl. li'. xi.s. iiii.d. ¶ Ad que debita soluenda, quilibet sufficiens de societate predicta, aliis insufficientibus, tenebatur. Et licet idem Willelmus de la Pole tempore separacionis societatis predictae ad solucionem debitorum predictorum sufficiens extitisset et adhuc existit, predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus debita predicta prefatis debitoribus de denariis prouenientibus de custumis et subsidiis eis ad firmam dimissis soluerunt in exoneracionem predicti Willelmi de la Pole et aliorum de societate predicta vbi idem rex in satisfaccione debiti sui precessisse debuit aliis creditoribus etc. iuxta prerogatiuam predictam etc. Et petunt pro rege et se ipsis quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole, in cuius exoneracionem denarii predicti soluti extiterant, respondeat regi de denariis predictis in exoneracionem predictorum Walteri Thome et Gilberti propter insufficienciam suam etc. in partem solucionis xiiii.m¹. Dxxv. li'. [vii s.]¹ x.d. ob.q^a. predictorum.

Et super hoc mandatum est prefato Willelmo de la Pole per breue huius scaccarii quod sit hic ad crastinum diem super premissis responsurus etc. Et idem dies datus est prefatis Waltero Thome et Gilberto.

Ad quem diem iidem Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus veniunt. Et predictus Willelmus de la Pole similiter venit in propria persona sua. Et iidem Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus dicunt vt prius etc. Et idem Willelmus de premissis per barones allocutus dicit super sacramentum suum quod gratis prestitit coram consilio quod ipse nunquam extitit socius de societate predicta neque se inde vt vnus de eadem societate aliquialiter intromisit nec aliquid per consilium seu ordinacionem suam vt vnus eiusdem societatis fiebat. Et super hoc predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus dicunt quod ipse fuit socius de societate predicta et in euidentiam inde ostendunt curie quoddam instrumentum in hec verba:

In Dei nomine Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum appareat euidenter quod anno ab incarnatione domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesie Anglicane millesimo trescentesimo quadragesimo quarto, indiccione duodecima, die² mensis Iunii, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis diuina prouidencia pape sexti anno tercio, in mei notarii publici infrascripti et testium subscriptorum presencia personaliter constitutus nobilis vir dominus Willelmus atte Pole miles iurauit a³ sacra dei ewangelia corporaliter tacta et inspecta per eundem ac fide sua mediante se astrinxit omnes et singulos conuenciones condiciones ordinaciones seu articulos infrascriptos in ligna gallicana in presenti instrumento

¹ An interlineation which has been omitted in the opening paragraph of the record. The deficit is given as £13,643/14/7 in *Cal. Close Rolls (1354-1360)*, pp. 248, 465, and as £13,000 in *ibid.*, p. 494.

² The day of the month has been omitted; it was June 10. See below, p. 203.

³ *Rectius super*. The mistake is the result of thinking in French and writing in Latin.

contentos fideliter firmiterque tenere obseruare et adimplere et nullo tempore contra eosdem vel aliquam partem eorum facere vel venire per se vel alium seu alios aliqua ratione vel causa. Conuenciones condiciones ordinaciones seu articuli quos dictus dominus Willelmus firmiter, ut profertur, obseruare et adimplere iurauit ac fide sua mediante se astrinxit in ligna gallicana secuuntur sub hac forma:

Ieo William atte Pole chiualer en presence de notarie et tesmoignes soutescriptes iure a cestes seintes ewangelies de dieu corporelment par moy veues et touchez et me estreyne par ma foi les couenantz condiciones ordynances et articles southescriptes fermement et fiablement tenir garder et parfournir et ne mye fere en countre eaux par moy ne par autri persone. Primerement, qe toutes eschoses qi sount ou serront ordeynez entre nous de la compaignie des marchantz soient tenutz en secret et en conseil et a nuly descouertz sil ne soit dil assent et al profit de la compaignie. Item qe ieo serra aydant et conseilant por profit de la compaignie en quant come sache et puisse saunz ascune chose celer qi purra tourner al profit ou honour de la compaignie. Item qe ieo ne ordeynera ne consillera nule chose por mon singuler profit qi purra tourner a damage ou vylaynie de la compaignie solome ma conscience. Item qe ieo serra loial en quant come ieo sache et puisse a la compaignie de tenir ceo qi serra ordeyne par eux saunz fere singuler profit a moy de nule chose qi touche nostre bargayn. Item si ieo mette ascunes¹ ou trauail por la compaignie ou ascun gayn puisse auoir par nule voye de chose de la compaignie qi ieo rendray loial acompte a la compaignie de chescun dener solome ma conscience saunz rien celer. Item si peril aueigne, qe dieu defende, dascun perde ala compaignie et ascunes custages soient mys par assent de la compaignie por meyntenir le profit et le honour de la compaignie qe ieo paiera ma porcion en quanque a moy apent saunz ascun countredit ou debat fere. Item qe ieo ne serra encountre nule ordeynance profitable por la compaignie qest fet ou serra fet de deinz nostre terme touchant nostre bargayn ne qe nul ordeynance ne serra defet ne debruse par moy saunz assent de la compaignie. Item qe ieo tendra le ordeynances qi serront ordeynetz apres ces heures auxint bien come les ordeynances qi sount ordeynetz meyntenant. Item qe ieo serra vmble et resonable en dit et en fet a ceux de la compaignie qi sount entre iurez et qi serront iurez apres ces heures. Item si ascun debat sourde entre ascun de la compaignie et moy qe ieo ne fra nule partie deuers lui ne rien descouera de tiel debat forsque soulement a la compaignie, et si debat sourde entre altres de la compaignie qe ieo fray ma diligence par auisement des altres de la compaignie qe resonable remedie soit mys. Item qe serray aydant et conseilant en quant come ieo sache et puisse dentrer la dette due a ceux de la

¹ MS. *sic*.

compaignie par nostre seigneur le roi auxint bien come ma dette demene. Item qe ieo serra toutz iours aydant et conseilant en tant come ieo sache et puisse en priue manere al profit de la compaignie saunz rien medler ouertement dascun ordeynance ou accompte fet entre la compaignie sil ne soit a la requeste de la compaignie.

Acta sunt hec prout supra scribuntur London' in domo habitacionis Walteri de Chiriton' ciuis et mercatoris London' sub anno indicione die mense et pontificatu predictis. Presentibus dicto Waltero de Chiriton' Waltero Prest et Henrico de Tichewell' mercatoribus dicte societatis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Et ego Thomas Hamund de Asshewell' clericus Linc' diocesis publicus apostolica auctoritate notarius predictis omnibus et singulis dum sic vt premittitur agerentur vna cum dictis testibus personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiui, scripsi publicauit et in hanc publicam formam redegei meisque nomine et signo consueto signaui, rogatus in fidem et testimonium premissorum.

Et dicunt vterius quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole vt vnus de societate predicta ordinauit quod xxi, videlicet Reginaldus de Conductu, Robertus de Shiluyngton', Henricus Goldbetere, Thomas de Yafford', Willelmus But, Thomas Gouk', Henricus de Alyngton', Robertus Pynsson', Thomas de Drayton', Robertus de Penreth', Robertus Cokside, Gilbertus Aliland, Hugo Cokheued, Ricardus Galewey, Iohannes de Bole, Rogerus Hardegray, Adam Tirewhit, Robertus Stuffyn, Robertus Dalderby, Walterus de Kelsterne et Thomas Berewyk' de xxxiii predictis amoueri deberent de societate predicta. Et super hoc prosecutus fuit quoddam breue de cancellaria quod dicitur 'dedimus potestatem' sibi et Rogero de Wollesthorp' alii de societate predicta directum de ipsos xxi amouendo, cuius quidem breuis ostendunt curie transcriptum in hec verba: Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Willelmo de la Pole et Rogero de Wollesthorp' salutem. Sciatis quod cum nuper concessimus Thome de Melchebourn' et quibusdam aliis mercatoribus regni nostri Anglie omnia customas magnas et paruas et subsidia nobis debita de lanis et aliis quibuscumque mercandisis extra dictum regnum nostrum Anglie eductis et infra idem regnum nostrum adductis a festo Natiuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste anno regni nostri Anglie decimo septimo vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis tunc proximo sequentis et ab eodem festo sancti Michaelis per tres annos proximo sequentes plenarie completos sub certis formis et modis in quibusdam indenturis, inter nos et ipsos inde confectis et sigillis dictorum mercatorum consignatis, contentis, ac iam ex parte Ricardi Galewey, Roberti Stuffyn, Roberti Cokside, Thome Berewyk', Thome de Yafford', Hugonis Cokheued', Iohannis de Bole, Willelmi But, Rogeri Hardegray, Roberti Pynsson', Henrici de Alyngton' et Thome de Drayton' nobis est supplicatum vt, cum ipsi aliis diuersis negociis occupati circa contenta in indenturis predictis non possunt comode laborare, velimus eos a

predictis conuencionibus et omnibus aliis contentis in dictis indenturis absoluere et omnino acquietare. Nos, volentes per vos vel alterum vestrum super contentis in supplicacione predicta plenius certiorari, dedimus vobis potestatem ad predictos Ricardum, Robertum¹, Thomam, Thomam, Hugonem, Iohannem, Willelmum, Rogerum, Robertum, Henricum et Thomam et eorum quemlibet super premissis diligencius examinandos et ad cogniciones quas ipsi et eorum quilibet coram vobis vel altero vestrum inde facere voluerint recipiendas. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod cum vos vel alter vestrum cogniciones predictas receperitis, nobis inde in cancellaria nostra sub sigillis vestris vel alterius vestrum distincte et aperte sine dilatione constare faciatis, hoc breue nobis remittentes. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium xxviii die Augusti anno xviii.

Et dicunt quod ipse Willelmus de la Pole pretextu eiusdem breuis, cum vnus de societate predicta, predictos xxi. mercatores amouit de eadem societate et ordinavit quod ipsi haberent pro amocione sua predicta summas subscriptas, videlicet predictus

Reginaldus de Conductu	DC. mr.
Robertus Shilyngton'	C. mr.
Henricus Goldbetere	C. mr.
Thomas de Yafford	C. mr.
Willelmus But	C. mr.
Thomas Gouk'	CC. mr.
Henricus Alyngton'	C. mr.
Robertus Pynsson'	C. mr.
Thomas Drayton'	C. mr.
Robertus de Penreth'	C. mr.
Robertus Cokside	C. mr.
Gilbertus Aliland	CC. mr.
Hugo Cokheued'	C. mr.
Ricardus Galewey	C. mr.
Iohannes de Bole	C. mr.
Rogerus Hardegray	C. mr.
Adam Tirewhit	C. mr.
Robertus Stuffin	C. mr.
Robertus Dalderby	C. mr.
Walterus Kelsterne	C. mr.
Thomas de Berwyk'	CC. mr.

Vnde summa totalis est m^l.Dccc. xxxiii. li'. vi. s. viii. d. ¶ Qui soluti fuerunt eisdem mercatoribus per assensum et ordinacionem dicti Willelmi de la Pole de denariis regis prouenientibus de custumis et subsidiis predictis.

¹ A 'Robertum' has been omitted.

Et sic remanserunt in eadem societate xii, scilicet Thomas de Melchebourn', Rogerus de Wolssthorp', Henricus de Tideswell', Walterus Prest, Walterus de Chiriton', Willelmus de Melchebourn', Adam Lucas, Iohannes de Astwyk', Thomas de Swanlund', Hugo de Vlseyby, Willelmus de Lodelowe et Willelmus de Roderham.

De quibus sex, videlicet Thomas de Melchebourn', Rogerus de Wolssthorp', Henricus de Tideswell', Walterus Prest, Walterus de Chiriton' et Willelmus de Melchebourn' vna cum predicto Willelmo de la Pole interu-rati fuerunt ad tenendum omnia dictam societatem tangencia per assensum et ordinacionem predicti Willelmi de la Pole. ¶ Et predicti sex residui assensu et ordinacione dicti Willelmi de la Pole habuerunt certam summam denariorum propter denominacionem suam in eadem societate continuandam et ne ipsi quicquam de eadem societate intromitterent, videlicet

Adam Lucas	
Iohannes Astwyk'	
Hugo de Vlseyby	CCC. mr.
Thomas de Swanlund	CC. mr.
Willelmus de Lodelowe	C. mr.
Willelmus de Roderham	C. mr.

de denariis regis prouenientibus de custumis et subsidiis supradictis.

Vnde summa totalis est CCCC. lxvi. li'. xiii. s. iiii. d. ¶ Et dicunt quod dictus Willelmus de la Pole ordinauit vna cum aliis de societate predicta quatuor mercatores ad omnes denarios eiusdem societatis recipiendos, videlicet Rogerum de Wolssthorp', Walterum Prest, Henricum de Tideswell' et Walterum de Chiriton'. Et petunt pro rege vt prius etc.

Et predictus Willelmus de la Pole inde allocutus petit licenciam inde loquendi vsque in crastinum diem etc. Et habet diem etc. Et idem dies datus est prefatis Waltero de Chiriton', Thome de Swanlund' et Gilberto de Wendlynburgh'.

Et visum est curie expediens esse quod predictus Thomas Hamond de Asshewell' notarius, Walterus de Chiriton' et Henricus de Tideswell' testes in predicto instrumento nominati veniant hic ad informandum curiam super premissis antequam etc. Et mandatum est eis per breuia huius scaccarii quod sint hic ad eundem crastinum. Mandatum est eciam prefatis Hugoni de Vlseyby et Willelmo de Melchebourn' mercatoribus de societate predicta quod similiter veniant hic ad informandum inde etc.

Ad quem crastinum predicti Walterus, Thomas de Swanlund' et Gilbertus veniunt. Et predicti Thomas Hamond' de Asshewell' et Henricus de Tideswell', Hugo de Vlseyby et Willelmus de Melchebourn' similiter veniunt. Et predictus Thomas Hamond' de Asshewell', examinatus super sacramentum suum si ipse scripsit et fecit instrumentum predictum etc., dicit super

sacramentum suum quod sic et quod ipse personaliter cum testibus in dicto instrumento nominatis interfuit omnibus et singulis in eodem instrumento contentis dum agerentur. Et dicit quod idem Willelmus de la Pole in domo habitacionis Walteri de Chiriton' in London' predicto x die mensis Iunii iuravit super sacra euangelia fideliter et firmiter tenere observare et adimplere omnes conuenciones condiciones ordinaciones et articulos in dicto instrumento contentos, dictis testibus presentibus et ad hoc vocatis et rogatis. Et dicit quod ipse omnia et singula in eodem instrumento contenta audiuit scripsit et signo suo signauit in testimonium inde etc. Et ostendit curie quoddam alium instrumentum per ipsum Thomam Hamond' de Asshe-well' sub nomine ipsius Willelmi de la Pole solomodo solomodo¹ confectum sub eisdem data loco et anno, continens omnes articulos condiciones et conuenciones in predicto [primo] instrumento contentos. Et predictus Walterus de Chiriton' dicit super sacramentum suum quod ipse rogatus fuit per dictum Willelmum de la Pole vt perhiberet testimonium in premissis. Et dicit quod dictus Willelmus de la Pole in presencia sua in domo habitacionis predicti Walteri de Chiriton' in London' iuravit super sacra euangelia fideliter tenere observare et adimplere omnia et singula in dicto instrumento contenta, predicto Thoma Hamond' ibidem presente et rogato per ipsum Willelmum de la Pole ad componendum instrumentum super premissis. Et dicit vterius quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole fuit socius de societate predicta et per ordinacionem consilium et assensum eiusdem Willelmi de la Pole omnia et singula superius ei imposita fiebant.

Et predictus Henricus de Tideswell' dicit super sacramentum suum quod ipse per dictum Willelmum de la Pole rogatus extitit ad perhibendum testimonium in premissis et quod dictus Willelmus de la Pole in presencia sua in domo habitacionis predicti Walteri de Chiriton' iuravit super sacra euangelia predicta fideliter tenere observare et adimplere omnia et singula in dicto instrumento contenta, predicto Thoma Hamond' ibidem presente et rogato per ipsum Willelmum de la Pole ad componendum instrumentum super premissis. Et dicit vterius quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole fuit socius societatis predictae et quod, dicto Willelmo de la Pole in partibus suis existente, idem Henricus tenuit locum dicti Willelmi de la Pole in societate predicta per deputacionem et assensum ipsius Willelmi de la Pole et ibidem morabatur pro se ipso et dicto Willelmo de la Pole ad negocium eiusdem societatis cum aliis sociis suis exequendum et faciendum. Et dicit quod, nisi dictus Willelmus de la Pole prius iurasset ad premissa implenda, ipse Henricus in premissis nunquam iuramentum prestitisset.

Et predictus Thomas de Swanlund' dicit super sacramentum suum quod predictus Willelmus fuit socius de societate predicta et inceptor eiusdem et

¹ MS. *sic*.

per ipsum et assensum et consilium suum omnia et singula in eadem societate fiebant.

Et predictus Willelmus de Melchebourn' dicit similiter super sacramentum suum quod idem Willelmus de la Pole fuit principalis socius eiusdem societatis et inceptor eiusdem et dicta societas agebat omnia per ordinacionem eiusdem Willelmi de la Pole et per ipsum omnia fiebant.

Requisiti predicti Walterus de Chiriton', Henricus de Tideswell', Thomas de Swanlund' et Willelmus de Melchebourn' per quorum vel cuius consilium dicta societas primo incepit, dicunt quod per ordinacionem dicti Willelmi de la Pole et quod ipse fuit fundator eiusdem. Requisiti vltterius si predicti **xxi** mercatores de societate predicta amoti fuerunt per assensum et ordinacionem dicti Willelmi de la Pole, dicunt quod sic et quod ipse Willelmus de la Pole prosecutus fuit breue predictum in cancellaria predicta et pro amocione sua predicta et per ordinacionem et assensum ipsius Willelmi de la Pole predicti **xxi** mercatores habuerunt particulariter summas prescriptas.

Et predictus Hugo de Vlseyby dicit super sacramentum suum quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole fuit socius de societate predicta. Et idem Willelmus, cum vnus de eadem societate, amouit prefatum Hugonem de eadem societate, promittendo ei **CC.** libras ne vltterius inde intromitteret. De quibus dictus Willelmus de la Pole soluit prefato Hugoni **C.** libras tantum et idem Hugo assignauit prefatum Willelmum ad soluendum **C.** marcas Henrico de Tideswell' de residuis **C.** libris in partem solucionis **CCCC.** librarum quas idem Hugo in partibus transmarinis ex mutuo recepit de prefato Henrico seu attornatis suis ad opus prefati Willelmi de la Pole tanquam attornatus suus ibidem ad implendam quandam cheuanciam de **MⁱMⁱ.** libris per dictum Willelmum de la Pole regi ibidem faciendam, de quibus quidem **C.** marcis dictus Willelmus eidem Henrico nondum satisfecit set eas penes [se] detinuit vna cum **L.** marcis residuis dictarum **C.** librarum. Et dicit vltterius quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole promisit eidem Hugoni ipsum conseruare indempnem erga regem et mercatores de societate sua predicta etc. Et per consilium et ordinacionem eiusdem Willelmi de la Pole quedam indentura de indempnitate predicta fiebat inter dictum Hugonem et dictos mercatores, que quidem indentura remanet penes dictum Willelmum de la Pole.

Et predictus Willelmus de la Pole similiter venit. Et detulit hic quoddam breue de priuato sigillo quod est inter communia de anno **xxviii.** termino videlicet sancti Michaelis, in hec verba: Edward par la grace de dieu roi Dengleterre et de Fraunce et seigneur Dirlande a noz chers et foialx chancelier, tresorer, barons de nostre eschequer et autres de nostre conseil saluz. Come de nostre grace speciale eons grauntez a nostre cher et foial William de la Pole respit de touz proces faitz ou comencez contre lui en dit eschequer

ou deuant nostre conseil, si bien des choses qi sont entre nous et lui come des autres choses qi sont parentre lui et Wauter de Chiriton' et ses compaignons, iusques a lendemain de la Puryficacion de nostre dame prochein auenir, vous mandons qe le dit respit lui facez auer en la forme desusdite sanz destresce ou empechement a lui faire en le meen temps par cel encheson. Don' souz nostre priue seal a Westmoustier le xiiii iour de Decembre lan de nostre regne Dengleterre vint septisme et de France quatorzisme.

Pretextu cuius breuis datus est dies prefato Willelmo de la Pole in premissis eodem statu quo nunc vsque predictum crastinum Purificacionis beate Marie per manucapcionem Iohannis de Tyssyngton' de comitatu Eboraci et Henrici de Tideswell' de comitatu Lincolnie, qui presentes in curia xv die Decembris hoc anno manuceperunt corpus pro corpore de habendo corpus predicti Willelmi de la Pole hic ad predictum crastinum ad respondendum super premissis et vltorius faciendum et recipiendum quod curia etc. Et idem dies datus est prefatis Waltero, Thome de Swanlund et Gilberto.

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¹ The rest of the record deals with the formalities of process. These have been summarised on pp. 192-193, above.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW,
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CERTAIN CONTEMPORANEOUS MATTERS IN GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH

By JOHN S. P. TATLOCK

I. ARABIC NAMES

THE climax of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* is the skilfully planned-out history of King Arthur; and the highly dramatic climax of this is his triumphant and sumptuous Pentecostal feast, the arrogant embassy of the Romans demanding his submission, and his victorious campaign against their hosts. But in this campaign there is an historical situation worthy of Gilbert and Sullivan. In the sixth century of our era, and in Burgundy, the two Roman emperors have the aid of a dozen and more African, Spanish, and oriental sovereigns as vassals; and what is more, two of their names are Arabic, — Mustensar, king of the Africans (x, 1), and (more conspicuous) the king of Spain, Alifatima, or Aliphatima (x, 1, 8, 9).¹

Al-Mustansir² is the name of three Moslem rulers before Geoffrey's time. Two were in southern Spain,—one a caliph in Cordova in the later tenth century (A.H. 350–66), the other a minor king in Malaga in the earlier eleventh (A.H. 431–4).³ The third is Abû Tamîm Ma-

¹ The forms here are from Mr Acton Griscom's *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Longmans, 1929), whose new text accurately produced is heartily welcomed. As a variant he gives *Aliphatimus*. San Marte's unreliable edition has *Alifantinam*. Leroux de Lincy's edition of Wace, based on several MSS, has *Aliphatima*, *Alifantin(s)*. M. Faral's new text of Geoffrey has *Aliphatima*, *Alifatina*, *Alifatima*, with variants *aliphantima*, *alii farimam*. Comparison assures Geoffrey's form as above. Faral's splendid *Légende Arthuriennne* appeared after these pages were written. From his text (III, 253) I subjoin the chief passage involved in this article:

'Convenerunt ocius Epistrophus rex Graecorum; Mustensar, rex Africanorum; Aliphatima, rex Hispaniae; Hirtacius, rex Parthorum; Boccus, rex Medorum; Sertorius, rex Libiae; Serses, rex Ituroorum; Pandrasum, rex Egipti; Micipsa, rex Babiloniae; Politetes, dux Bithiniae; Teucer, dux Frigiae; Evander, Siriae; Echion, Boetiae; Ypolitus, Cretae; cum ducibus et proceribus sibi subditis. Ex senatorio quoque ordine Lucius Catellus, Marius Lepidus, etc.'

² The form most favored in transliterating. The only actual error in Geoffrey's form is the third vowel. (On this and other linguistic points a non-Arabist must depend on expert friends.) On the Arabic custom for rulers to assume new names on accession, as here, see *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, N.S., XIII (1881), 255.

³ I follow mainly E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie . . . de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927), pp. 3, 53, 359. See also S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties* (Paris, 1925), pp. 21, 23; F. J. Simonet, 'Hist. de los Mozárabes' (*Memorias de la real Academia de la Historia*, XIII, Madrid, 1897–1903), pp. 353, 612–3, 622, 629; *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*. The *Hist. Mahométane*, translated by P. Vattier (Paris, 1657), p. 163, mentions a caliph Mustanser (A.H. 247), but this seems to be an error for Muntasir.

'add al-Mustansir [bi-llâh], eighth Fatimite Caliph of Egypt (or Cairo or Babylon) from A.D. 1036 to 1094.¹ Later than Geoffrey's day there were a dozen others in various parts of the Moslem world. As we shall see, the third is doubtless the one known to Geoffrey.

Alifatima is more curious. No such person is known in Spain or anywhere. But the name is merely a combination of 'Alî and Fâtîma, the names of Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law and of his daughter. The combination is unidiomatic, and was not made by an Arabic speaker, the one part being a man's name, the other a woman's. But of its identity, even if Geoffrey had not associated it with a Moslem country and with Mustensar, there can be no doubt.²

Such minute knowledge is unparalleled, in a British writer at any rate, before Geoffrey. People in England had been too provincial to be aware of the Moslem Saracens except rarely, and vaguely for their descent and location, and as fierce fighters, enemies of Christianity and of pilgrims. No earlier British writer extant is acquainted with their religion except William of Malmesbury, and he only with their brief creed: 'Deum Creatorem colunt, Mahumet non Deum sed eius prophetam aestimantes.'³ For the interest of this first entrance of Moslem things let us consider its possible channels: Constantinople, Spain and Palestine, or thereabouts.⁴ There is no probability of a Byzantine medium. Still less likely is the precedent behind the name

¹ De Zambaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 94; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 71; F. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Fatimiden Chalifen* (Göttingen, 1881), pp. 227 ff.; D. L. O'Leary, *The Fatimid Khalifate* (London, 1923), pp. 193 ff.; Fr. Wilken, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge* (Leipzig, 1807-1832, II, 55, etc.

² There is an Andalusian family-name Alifante (*Enc. Univ. II.*); the Arabic *Khalifah* is sometimes written *Halifa* in Latin. But it is incredible that so apposite a name is due to corruption of some other word.

³ *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 230: cf. 423, 458; obviously due to 'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet.'

⁴ The many short written accounts of Mohammed existing in the early twelfth century in Latin and Greek were little known, and seldom even mention Ali, and never Fatima. The following list is fuller than can be found elsewhere. The earliest seems to be in a brief continuation of the chronicle of Isidor of Seville, attributed to St Ildefonsus of Toledo (seventh century, stopping A.D. 686; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xcvi, 320-2; overlooked by d'Ancona); Eulogius, archbishop of Toledo, ninth century (*Patr. Lat.* cxv, 859 f.); Alvaro of Cordova, ninth century (*España Sagrada*, xi, 249). Among Greek historians, Theophanes's account (eighth or ninth century), much used later, mentions 'Αλῆ as Mohammed's son-in-law, selected as chief by one party (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883-85, I, 346-7); much the same with Anastasius the Librarian, whose ninth century *Historia Ecclesiastica* is based on Greek authorities

Alifatima to be due to Spanish-Arab sources, for it points to the wrong side of the early split in the Moslem world. The Shi'ite belief (we may recall) is that the headship of Islam is the right only of the descendants of Ali and Fatima, who inherit Mohammed's preternatural position. The Spanish Moslems were all and always Sunnites;¹ therefore names which by implication exalt the Ali-Fatima dynasty are unlikely to be of Spanish transmission. The likely route is from Egypt or Palestine. The Fatimite or Alid dynasty, which claimed these distinguished ancestors, arose in 909 A.D., conquered Egypt in 969, and reigned in Cairo for two centuries till 1171, when they were superseded by Saladin. Ali and Fatima were in Geoffrey's day as much the rock on which were built the powers that were at Cairo as

(Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, CVIII, 1326). *The Historia de Mahumete*, once attributed to Hildebert of Tours, now to Embricho of Mainz (eleventh century), contains little for its more than 500 distichs (*Patr. Lat.* CLXXI, 1345 ff.). Zonaras' *Annals* (Greek, early twelfth century), after an account of the Prophet, mention 'ΑΛῆ his son-in-law as one candidate for the succession (*Patr. Gr.* CXXXIV, 1292). I have not pretended to exhaust the Greek writers. Sigebert of Gembloux about 1105 gives a brief account (*M.G.H.*, SS., VI, 323; also *Patr. Lat.* CLX; Wattenbach, *Deutschl. Geschichtsqu.*, 5th ed., Berlin, 1885-86, II, 145-146), also Hugh of Flavigny about the same time (*M.G.H.* VIII, 323; also *Patr. Lat.* CLIV; Wattenbach, II, 122), and Guibert of Nogent (c. 1053-c. 1121) in his *Gesta Dei per Francos* (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. Occid.*, Paris, 1844), IV, 127 ff.; Guibert opines that 'Mathomus' must have lived rather recently; for so far as appears no divine has refuted his errors or written of him, and therefore the author must rely on oral information. This shows the small vogue of the written accounts. One or two later crusade-chroniclers have brief accounts (*Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, V, 532, 657). None of the above mentions Ali, except as noted, and in none is he conspicuous. His name clearly came first through Byzantine channels, doubtless because those were more in contact with the Shi'ites; only in Anastasius of the ninth century do I find Ali mentioned in Latin before Geoffrey's day. The earliest mention of Fatima seems to be in the *Tractatus* by the Dominican William of Tripoli, who wrote probably in 1273 in Palestine, evidently with Moslem sources (printed in full by Prutz, pp. 575-598; see below): — the earliest of Mohammed's familiars was his 'avunculus nomine Hely, qui dicti Machometi filiam, nomine Fatimam, consanguineam postmodo accepit in uxorem.' (p. 576) The name *Fatima* seems to be earlier in Geoffrey by some 140 years than in any other Christian writer, except that her namesake 'Fatunia, regis Medorum Halis filia,' is in Ordericus Vitalis, *s. a.* 1123-4, bk. XI, ch. 26 (written 1136); so the two names came west. The least inadequate modern accounts of the whole subject are A. d'Ancona, 'La Leggenda di Maometto in Occidente,' *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* XIII (1889), 199-231 (cf. review by E. Renan, *Journ. des Sav.*, 1889, 421-428); and Hans Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte d. Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), pp. 72-88. See also Manitius, *Lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, I, 421-428; M. Asín Palacios, *L'Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 311 ff.; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IV (1889), 22-30. Better knowledge began with Peter the Venerable (c. 1092-1156), abbot of Cluny, who visited Spain about 1139-43 (*Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIX, 663 ff.), and cf. William of Tyre, *Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, I, 915-6.

¹ With a slight exception (see de Zambaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54).

Peter at Rome.¹ The term Fatimite or an equivalent is that commonly used of the dynasty by mediaeval Arabic writers.² Further, this knowledge is unlikely to have come from any quarter before the eleventh century. Intercourse with Moslem Spain was notoriously slight till the twelfth, with Sicily till later. As to the East, for three centuries the Mediterranean was almost closed to Christian commerce, and knowledge of the Moslem world almost cut off; trade with the East hardly revived till the early eleventh century, with the general increase of economic activity, and the end of the century, with the Norman conquest of Sicily. Of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, in spite of what Charlemagne is said to have done to safeguard them, there are records of less than three dozen before the eleventh century, when they became numerous and sometimes large, if still perilous.³

But the most promising time is that of the first crusade and after. Men by the thousand went from western Europe, most of them returned, and the relations of the crusaders to the natives were far more continuous and intimate than those of earlier traders and pilgrims. Knowledge of Egyptian religion and politics could not fail to be widespread among them, and to return with them, for the Egyptians were as important to the invaders as the Syrians. The limits of the Egyptian caliph's dominions varied a good deal; at times they went as far west as Morocco, and Mustansir really was *rex Africanorum*, as Geoffrey says; at others as far east as Bagdad. In Palestine, also, they ebbed and flowed; just before the Crusade the Egyptians controlled southern Palestine, again recovered it with Jerusalem from the Turks in 1098, and during the Frankish siege in

¹ 'Rex Aegyptius, Halifa nomine, Maumeti perfidiae summus pontifex,' *Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, v, 544; cf. 'Calipha [of Bagdad], gentis suae Apostolico,' Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* ix, 10.

² O'Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 17; *Camb. Med. Hist.*, II, 379.

³ A. Schaube, *Handelsgesch. d. roman. Völker d. Mittelmeergebiets* (Munich, 1906), pp. 21-65; Clive Day, *Hist. of Commerce* (N.Y., 1917), p. 84; *The Crusades*, etc., presented to Dana C. Munro (N.Y., 1928), pp. 3-43; *Camb. Med. Hist.*, II, 387-388; v, 266-267, 269; C. H. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 29, 282, 283-286; *Studies in the Hist. of Mediaeval Science* (ib. 1927), pp. 9 ff., 155 ff.; *Normans in European History* (Boston, 1915), p. 229 (the essence is in Haskins' books); Asin Palacios, pp. 297 ff.; Graefe, in *Enc. of Islam*, II, 89; H. Pirenne in *Recue belge de philol. et d'hist.*, I, 85; and, conveniently on much of the above, J. W. Thompson, *Econ. and Soc. Hist. of the Middle Ages* (N.Y., 1928).

1099 commanded in that city. In this three-cornered struggle, the Caliph three times shifted sides.¹ As to Mustansir, much of the above shows the prominence of his name and office. Personally insignificant as he was, and dying just before the crusade, the length of his reign, one of the longest in Moslem history, made him a feature of the landscape. As late a writer as William of Tyre (ix, 18), about 1180, mentions him ('Bomensor Elmostensab') as reigning in Egypt in 1063. And with his name presumably came those of the supposed founders of his line.²

Geoffrey had every opportunity to know what had been going on in the East, and shows much more knowledge than is mentioned in this article. Inhabitants of England, though not conspicuous in the first crusade, were not lacking. Not to mention the English fleet which took Laodicea in 1097,³ when Robert of Normandy went in 1096 with his brother-in-law Stephen of Blois, and Robert of Flanders, they were attended by 'Angli, et Normanni, et Occidentales Franci,' according to William of Malmesbury.⁴ Further, Frenchmen and Normans (from various lands) predominated; for upper-class people England, Normandy and even other parts of France were almost like one country. Of the three leaders just mentioned, who are among the most prominent in all accounts of the crusade, Stephen of Blois was father to one of the dedicatees of the *Historia*; Robert of Normandy was uncle to two (Stephen and Robert of Gloucester), and his family was related to and otherwise connected with the third; and Robert of Flanders was cousin to the two former. Of the genuine crusaders' letters printed by Hagenmeyer,⁵ five or six of the twenty or so are from or to these three men. The crusade

¹ *Recueil, Hist. Occid.* v, 544, late, using early sources; Schaube, *Handelsgesch.*, p. 65. On all the above see *Recueil, Hist. Orient.*, i, 2 (troops of *El-Mostancer-Billah* in Tyre); Munro volume on the crusades, pp. 36, 37; O'Leary, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.; W. B. Fleming, *Hist. of Tyre* (N. Y., 1915), pp. 87, 88; *Enc. of Islam*, II, 91.

² E. g., Raymond of Aguilers, who was on the first crusade, speaks of the king of Babylon (Cairo) and 'Alim, quem ipse colit, qui est de genere Mahumet' (*Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, III, 277).

³ C. W. David, *Robert Curthose* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 105, 230 ff.

⁴ *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series), II, 402; Henry of Huntingdon. *Hist. Angl.* (R. S.), pp. 219-20; Fulcher of Chartres, *Hist. Hierosol.* I, 6.

⁵ *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe, 1088-1100* (Innsbruck, 1901).

and later affairs in its theatre loomed large in Geoffrey's day. To them William of Malmesbury devotes a seventh of his *Gesta Regum*, which begins with the Saxons, Ordericus Vitalis, beginning with the Incarnation, over a tenth of his *Historia*, and Henry of Huntingdon more space than to William I's reign. The chief histories of the crusade were available at once; William constantly uses that by Fulcher of Chartres, Ordericus those of Fulcher and Baldric of Dol, and Henry the so-called Tudebodius Abbreviatus. There is no solid evidence that Geoffrey used them, but much other information was available; Baldric himself and other historians wrote at home from material supplied them.

II

THE EMPERORS' OTHER ALLIES

The names of most of the other 'Orientales Reges' are remarkable too, but can be traced with no difficulty to classical history and tradition. Three are noticeable in the Jugurthine and following civil wars of Rome. Boccus, king of the Medes, is from Bocchus, king of Mauretania, father-in-law and betrayer of Jugurtha; Micipsa of Babylonia, from Micipsa, king of Numidia, adoptive father and predecessor of Jugurtha; Sertorius, king of Libya, from the great rebel in Spain. All these occur, usually repeatedly, in the fifth book of Orosius' *Historia*, Florus' *Epitome*, Sallust's *Jugurtha* and fragmentary *Historiae*, Eutropius' *Breviarium* and its derivatives by Paulus Diaconus and Landolfus 'Sagax', and in various other places. To these should be added Serses, king of the Iturei; Xerxes the Persian appears, usually repeatedly, in Orosius, Florus, Eutropius, Valerius Maximus' *De Factis*, and elsewhere.

Most of the names are from the Trojan tradition and its relatives. Echion, *dux* of Boeotia (*boecie*) evidently reflects Echion the Theban, whose name appears often in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Statius' *Thebaid* (or the hunter of the Calydonian boar in the *Metamorphoses* and the Argonaut who appears many times in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonauticon*). Ypolitus, *dux* of Crete, is probably (not to mention the early Christian writer) from Hippolytus, son of Theseus, in the *Metamorphoses* (xv, 497 ff.) or the *Aeneid* (vii, 761 ff.). Euander, *dux*

of Syria, first recalls the early Latian king in the *Aeneid*, the *Metamorphoses* and Livy, but a son of Priam also is so named in the *Ephemeris* of the pseudo-Dictys Cretensis. From this or Virgil came Hirtacius, king of the Parthians; Hyrtacus is the father of a Trojan ally in Dictys (II, 35; III, 14), and of Nisus, Aeneas' companion (*Aeneid*, v and ix). Teucer (the form is sufficiently certified), *dux* of Phrygia, is from Teucer, the early king of Troy, or his descendent, brother of Ajax; the latter is in the *Aeneid*, Dictys and the *De excidio Trojae* of the pseudo-Dares Phrygius, and both in the *Metamorphoses*. Epistrophus, king of the Greeks, is most likely due to Epistrophus, a Greek from Phocis, or may be from a Trojan ally so named; both are in Dictys and Dares. As to the two others, Pandrasus, king of Egypt, repeats the name of the king of Greece whom Brutus outwits in the first book of the *Historia*, but whence this came is hard to say, unless from Pandrosus, daughter of Cecrops in the *Metamorphoses*, possibly fused with Pandarus, in the *Aeneid*, Dictys and Dares. The name (if not corrupt) of Politetes, *dux* of Bithynia, is a fusing of Polypoetes, a Greek leader in Dictys and Dares, with Philoctetes, in the four works last cited. Most of these names are found in many other places, but Orosius, the *Metamorphoses* and Dictys account for them all. It is notable that none except Xerxes is in the three Julius Valerius and Leo versions of the Alexander tradition, though oriental names were called for and some of the countries are mentioned there. Nowhere are these names the most conspicuous.

The names were not chosen at random, but for associations with the countries mentioned or their general regions. This is obvious with Echion the Theban in Boeotia, Hippolytus, son of Theseus, in Crete, Trojan names for the Phrygian¹ and the Bithynian, a Phocian name for the king of the Greeks, a Persian for him of the Iturei, on the Persian side of Palestine; and Sertorius', associated with Spain and Mauretania, for the king of Libya, often vaguely used for north Africa. Babylonia to Geoffrey's contemporaries almost always meant

¹ 'Minor Phrygia, id est Troia,' says the emperor Alexius in his letter of 1088 (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 132); also Fulco's poem, before 1142 (III, 200-1, in *Rec., Hist. Occid.*, v, 715). Major Phrygia was an interior region. See W. M. Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), pp. 150, 153; the name disappeared in the fifth century and revived later.

the Egyptian soldan's capital just south of Cairo, seldom the ancient empire, and to its king he gives a north African name. For Euander of Syria a Latian name would be odd, but not so a Trojan, since Asia Minor and Syria figure together in the crusade; much the same with the Trojan name for the Parthian king. Even for Boccus of the Medes there is a dubious excuse for a Mauretanian name; Sallust in writing of Micipsa and Jugurtha avers that the Medes settled Mauretania, and that *Mauri* is a corruption of *Medi*.¹ Only Pandrasus of Egypt, of uncertain origin, is more doubtful in fitness. Clearly then the pairs of names were chosen as plausible combinations.

The list of fourteen countries, which makes so fantastic an impression on a modern, represents the whole Roman Empire (except northwards), at the time of its greatest extent, from Spain, the Africans, Libya, Egypt, Babylonia, Crete, the Greeks, Boeotia, Phrygia, Bithynia, Syria, the Ituraeans, to the Parthians and the Medes; but the inclusion of the last two as subject kingdoms violates all history, except for a moment under Trajan. At first it looks like a loose eclectic list, the Ituraeans recalling the early Roman empire, and Babylonia, Boeotia, the Medi, history much more ancient. But with an informed man in the twelfth century, it never does to assume vagueness or ignorance, and the chances are that a dozen names will betray some slant. We shall see presently that these do.

The inclusive dates of Arthur's career are unusually plain, in spite of interior indefiniteness and even contradiction. Geoffrey would have discovered the period with some precision from his three main authorities. In the so-called Nennius, Arthur is the hero of the *bellum in monte Badonis*; this according to Gildas and Bede was about forty-three years after the coming of the Saxons, and this the latter dates 449.² In the *Historia*, shortly after his accession Arthur defies the Saxons (ix, 1), and after a continuous campaign pursues them *versus pagum Badonis*, where he defeats them in a battle which reflects the Nennius account (ix, 3, 4). At the end, the campaign

¹ *Jugurtha*, xviii.

² i, 15-6; cf. *Revue Celtique*, vi, 6-13; *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xli, 497-503. Mr A. W. Wade-Evans' 'Chronology of Arthur,' *Y Cymmrodor*, xxii, 125-149, is an unmanageable combination of acuteness, contradictions, leaps, and assumptions. He treats Arthur's career as historical.

against the Romans is the year before Modred's treachery and Arthur's retirement to Avalon, which is explicitly dated 542 (ix, 12, 15, 20; x, 1, 13; xi, 1, 2). These dates for Arthur's reign (about 491 to 542) harmonize better than usual with what precedes and follows. From the coming of Hengest Geoffrey shows four reigns before Arthur's, and after it three very short reigns, two of uncertain length, an indefinite period of disorder, then the sending of St. Augustine (596 in Bede). While it seems that he followed no clean-cut scheme throughout, and was more concerned to give an occasional impression of chronological accuracy than to withstand calculation, he never disregards chronology for long, and here commits himself.

For knowing the facts of the Roman world about this time he had every facility. For the earlier generations after Constantine there were (besides three or four others) Eutropius, Orosius, Eusebius, Jerome and Prosper, to name only those common in monastic book-catalogues of about his time.¹ Among those reaching or covering also the time of Arthur there were Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Isidor, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Landolfus Sagax, Anastasius and Frechulph of Lisieux (to disregard eight or ten others). Among authors near Geoffrey's own day the same ground is covered by Ordericus Vitalis, Honorius of Autun, Sigebert of Gembloux and a half-dozen and more others, besides brief and unimportant accounts in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* (p. 412) and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historiae Anglorum* (pp. 30 ff.). Needless to say, there is not a hint in any of them about any Roman claim or attack on the Britons in the fifth or sixth century; on the contrary the abandonment of them is mentioned. But in all these authors and others the information and interest regarding the Christian Roman and Byzantine Empire is striking, even rulers and wars, in spite of their weakness for heresies, relics, miracles and pontiffs.

That one or more of these accounts is reflected in the *Historia* is certain. The actual emperor at the time of Arthur's supposed Roman

¹ E.g., in G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibl. Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885); L. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS, B. N.* (Paris, 1868-1881); M. R. James, *Anc. Libr. of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1908); le Prevost's introduction to Ordericus Vitalis, I, vii ff.; L. Maitre, *Ecoles épiscopales et monastiques* (Paris, 1924), pp. 191 ff. For the historians see Manitius and Gröber especially.

campaign was Justinian I (527-565), for whom Belisarius and Narses waged war, and nearly doubled his dominions in the West. In the above-named historians his reconquest of Africa and Italy, and successes against the Franks, are conspicuous; also his defeat of the Persians, and of a few of the outlying peoples mentioned by Geoffrey. If Arthur's new subjects from the north and west fought for him, it is not utterly fantastic to picture the Roman emperors as aided by rulers of Libya¹ and of the Africans, as well as by those of several other regions still under the empire. To represent the emperor toward the middle of the sixth century as reclaiming former Roman dominions in the West (though not Britain) is sober history. There is thus a certain faint plausibility for this part of the picture.

But the capital of the empire is obviously still Rome, to which Arthur is summoned (ix, 15), and begins a hostile march (x, 13); and its army is largely Roman, with leaders bearing compositely historic Latin names (x, 1, 5, 8, 9). Most of the personal names along here, as we have seen, have a studied ancient air. Therefore the picture is also of something before the fall of the Western Empire. There are two emperors at once, coöperating (ix, 11, 20; x, 4-6, 10, 11); the simultaneous emperors are unmistakable in all the historians mentioned above.² Though there is no mention of Constantinople, one of them is presumably more distant than the other, for he never reaches the fight. He bears the name Leo. This imperial name, unknown in Rome, is that of the latest emperor at Constantinople (Leo I, 457-474) before the disappearance of the Western Empire (476) who had any real connection with the West, though his one great enterprise there, against the Vandals in Africa (468), ended in disaster; the next emperor, Zeno (474-491), besides having an outlandish name, such as Geoffrey avoids, figured little in western history, and Arthur's contemporary Anastasius (491-518) figured less.

¹ Landolfus, *Hist. Rom.* (Istituto Stor. Ital., Rome, 1912-3), II, 40. Even the Parthians are worsted though not subdued by Belisarius (Jordanes, *Romana*, *M. G. H.*, *Auct. Ant.*, v, i, pp. 47 ff.; Freculph of Lisieux, *P. L.*, cvii, 1254), and Spain is entered by Roman troops (Isidor, *Chronicon*, *P. L.*, LXXXIII, 1054).

² Just at first, but not later, Geoffrey is evasive about Lucius being emperor. Some of the later Byzantine emperors made their sons Augusti also, but Geoffrey was not thinking of this.

The loose title *rex Romanorum* given to Leo once or twice by Geoffrey (xi, 1; cf. ix, 16) is given Leo I by Paulus Diaconus.¹ There is one more point, of which the full bearing will be clear later. Not only in the fifth century was the name Leo prominent as that of an Eastern potentate; also in Geoffrey's own day. Armenians, driven from the north by the Moslems, had established Armenia Minor on the south coast opposite Cyprus, with fluctuating relations to their neighbors. Their ruler from 1123 to 1135 was Leo I, in the latter year put out of the way by the emperor John Comnenus. He is mentioned ('Levo Armenus') as a highly important person by William of Tyre.² His niece (by marriage?) was married to Bohemond II of Antioch, his sister to the count of Edessa, and he himself to a sister of Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem 1118-31; but for all that the dissensions of 'Leo Armenicus,' a 'Christianus princeps,' with Bohemond in 1130 and their ill results are remarked on by Ordericus Vitalis³; in that year he joined with the Turks, in 1131 was captured and plundered by Bohemond, and later escaped and recovered the plunder. These facts show that this prince of a mostly heretic and schismatic people loomed rather large and unfavorably in the affairs of the Latin East.

The nearer and more conspicuous emperor has a wholly unhistorical and also improbable name, Lucius Hiberus or Hiberius (ix, 15 ff.). Its coinage may have been helped by that of one of Leo's Western colleagues, Livius Severus, emperor at Rome 461-5. Though his praenomen is not in the above historians, he is called a Lucanian by Cassiodorus.⁴ Other names in them may have helped; the Caucasian region Hiberia appears in them constantly, and the emperor Tiberius III (late seventh century) appears as 'Leontius Tiberius' in Anastasius the Librarian's Latin compilation.⁵ Both the latter

¹ Leo the forty-fifth *Romanorum regum* (xv, 1); cf. Orosius, vii, 28. To pass over Leo II, his small grandson who hardly outlasted him, the next emperor Leo was the Isaurian of the eighth century. 'Leo imperator' appears in Henry of Huntingdon (p. 41) as a contemporary of Hengest and Vortimer.

² *Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, i, 610.

³ iv, p. 267; cf. *Recueil, Docum. Arméniens*, i, *passim*, ii, 8; Röhricht, *Geschichte d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, 195, 210, etc.; *Camb. Med. Hist.* iv, 169, 358.

⁴ *Chronicon, P. L.* LXIX, 1245. V's often appear as b's. A gold coin of 'Libius Severus' has been found in the Isle of Wight (*Vict. County Hist., Hampshire*, i, 377). Let us hope that no one will announce it as part of Arthur's booty.

names appear in the sixth century. From such materials is Geoffrey's invention.

We have seen that Geoffrey's picture recalls actual conditions in Arthur's day and also those of a couple of generations earlier. The combination was made easier because the authorities' chronology is usually complex or indefinite; and it has the effect of exalting Arthur by giving him two emperors to war against. Geoffrey's borrowing, combining and inventing secured a certain verisimilitude for the eyes of the well-read, and a convenient evasiveness. Aside from the above, the picture of the late empire partly reflects much earlier facts (prominence of the Senate, ix, 15; x, 1, 13), and partly is vague and inaccurate (*Lucius [Hiberus] rei publice procurator*, ix, 15; a tribune as provincial ruler, ix, 11). For all the faint plausibility scraped together from history, the truly monstrous thing is the prosperous oriental empire with an array of subject kings zealous to spread Roman power to Britain, in centuries when the empire if ever prosperous was unstable, and in general was fighting defensive wars in East and West. There is not a syllable in any chronicle of these centuries to justify Geoffrey's picture; but he knew such chronicles.

Now in these dozens of writers there are vastly numerous names of countries and races. All of Geoffrey's fourteen are found here or there, but Ituraea very rarely, and Boeotia almost never; and others, notably the Parthians, appear not as subjects but as enemies of the empire, as for example in Isidor's *Chronicon* (cap. 78) and elsewhere. But among the vast number are many European peoples infinitely more plausible as campaigners in the far West and defenders of Roman prestige. In the selection of these fourteen names there was little thought of observing historical conditions in the late fifth or early sixth century.

But at the time of the crusade and later things are different. Just as the name of Leo recalls an antagonist of the Crusaders, all have a strong association with enmity to Western Europeans. The Greeks, Boeotia, Crete were subject to the Orthodox Church and to the Byzantine Emperor, whose relation then to the West was never really

¹ *Patr. Graeca*, cviii, 1335 (though the reading may be corrupt). Some MSS of Geoffrey even read 'tyberius' for 'Hiberius.'

friendly and often hostile, and then regarded in the West as more hostile than it was. The emperor John Comnenus, for example, for years was threatening the Latin principality of Antioch, and preparing to besiege the city, as he did in 1137. Its prince then was Raymund of Poitiers, who, having been trained to knighthood at the court of Henry I, was there in 1135 when he became betrothed to the heiress of the city,¹ just the time when Geoffrey was writing. With Phrygia and Bithynia now one and now the other, the rest of the fourteen were Moslem politically and religiously.

Further, each of these very names except one appears in a living guise in the accounts of the first crusade, which was fought from Constantinople to Egypt and involved many outlying peoples, and in accounts of the affairs of the Latin states in Syria. The extant chroniclers give an idea of some but not all of the information available. Such are William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, both known to Geoffrey (*Historia*, xii, 20), and Ordericus Vitalis, who finished a little after Geoffrey; the crusade-chroniclers Fulcher, Baldricus, Tudebodus, Raymund, Guibert, Albert, and the *Gesta Francorum*, all earlier than he; and the later William of Tyre, who used early sources.² These chroniclers use the classical and biblical names when they can. The Africans, Egypt (not regarded as in Africa), Syria, though always contemporary and conspicuous, are especially so in the first crusade. The Egyptian Babylonia at Cairo is very conspicuous, through its caliph. So is Bithynia, as the scene of the first important operation against the Moslems (the siege of Nicaea in 1097), and of others before and after; we even have a letter written to King Stephen's mother by his father from before Nicaea.³ Crete appears less often, but was a sea-mark lying close to any sea-route to the East, such as was taken by the English fleet at Laodicea in 1097.⁴ *Greci* (*Grecia* rarely) is the regular word for the subjects of the Byzantine emperor, used times innumerable. *Hispania* in the

¹ William of Tyre, *Recueil, Hist. Occid.* i, 618, 635; *Revue de l'orient latin*, iv, 358 ff.; R. Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), p. 201.

² All in the *Recueil*, with full indices; some better edited later. On the crusaders' routes, Tomaschek in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Phil.-hist. Klasse, cxxiv (1891), 82 ff.

³ Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.*

⁴ David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 230 ff.; Crete often mentioned in *Recueil*, iii and v.

West, which Geoffrey probably meant (being always to him outside the pale, and the abode of uncanny personages), is not prominent; but the name is, being often applied vaguely to Moslem regions in Asia Minor and eastward.¹ Ituraea is mentioned by none of these chroniclers before William of Tyre, but, doubtless following earlier sources, he mentions it under the year 1100 (and later) as entered by the Christians;² the Latins were interested to find themselves among names familiar in Scripture. Libya, sometimes vaguely conceived but usually as just west of Egypt, appears unexpectedly often. The Medi appear not seldom, and Edessa, capital of the Latin 'county' to the east of Antioch, is their metropolis; Henry of Huntingdon mentions them as enemies.³ The Parthi mean the Turks, and appear not seldom.⁴ Phrygia Minor or Major appears in William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Tyre; the latter was on the crusaders' route. Whether or not Geoffrey heard each of the names in this connection, all but two or three appear in the accounts by one or more of the three, William of Malmesbury, Baldricus and Fulcher, of whom the first two wrote at home at second-hand, in Geoffrey's own day, and the third was well-known there and then. Only Boeotia is in none of the chroniclers and prevents a too contemporary look. For countries which were geographically fairly well defined in his day Geoffrey uses the name of the country; in the five cases where he uses the name of the people the definition was not at all clear. Lands whose rulers he calls *dux* were not called kingdoms in his time. Repeatedly these peoples appear as antagonists of the relatives of Geoffrey's dedicatees mentioned above. 'In uno quidem principes erant, dux Normannorum Robertus, . . . , et plures alii. Hos igitur circumdederunt Parthorum, qui modo Turci vocantur, et Persarum, et Publicanorum, et Medorum, . . . CCC. et lx. M. . . .'⁵

¹ Röhricht, *Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 160, 165; Riant, *Archives de l'Orient Lat.*, i, 13, 108, and references; *Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, iii, 243-72, v, 23, 372 (Ispahan); W. M. Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of As. Min.*, pp. 151, 163, 223 (Spania in Galatia).

² Pp. 388, 720, etc.; *St Luke*, iii, 1; but not a living name after the first century. Only six of these names are in *Acts* ii, 9-11, familiar in the Epistle for Pentecost.

³ Rolls Ser., p. 221; Wm. of Tyre, 708, 1016, etc.

⁴ 'Parthorum, quos Turcos diximus,' Guibert of Nogent (*Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, iv, 260); 'Nam modo qui Turci veteri sunt nomine Parthi,' poem of Gilo (*ib.* v, 732); 'Parthorum, qui modo Turci vocantur' (Henry of Huntingdon, p. 221).

Again, 'Nicaeam, Bithyniae urbem, obsederunt. . . Buamundus et Tancredus; . . . Deinde Rodbertus, Flandriae comes . . . Iuxta hunc Rodbertus, Normannorum dux, et Stephanus, Carnotensis comes, . . .'¹ Robert's nephew and namesake Robert of Gloucester would take notice. Timely and appealing choice! Even without the two Arabic names an alert reader in the 1130's would have been reminded no more of ancient than of contemporary history, could not have failed to think of the chief international events in an internationally-minded age. As to so many 'reges' and 'duces,' who so enhance the glory of Arthur's victory, the sheer invention of them would have been easy, but Geoffrey found far more precedent for them in the twelfth century than in the sixth. The orientals' campaign is an inverted crusade, with reigning sovereigns of various peoples allied to recover an alienated region. On the other hand Arthur, fighting the orientals, has himself the nimbus of a crusader without ever leaving the Atlantic, and he beats these peoples just as Charlemagne was believed to have done (in Spain and the East), whom Geoffrey assuredly had in the back of his mind all along. By the end of the century some had it that, like Charlemagne, Arthur had even himself gone to Jerusalem.² The princes' names were so chosen that they fit their countries and are vaguely plausible. Henry of Huntingdon too in his crusading enthusiasm thought of the princes in the Troy and Thebes traditions as inferior rivals of the crusaders, — 'tot et tam bellicosos duces. Cesset Troia, cessent Thebae, duces et principes destructionis suae . . . nominare!'³ In both sets of names, some appeared fitting because ancient (too ancient, a scholar would say now); some were vivid because contemporaneous. It is easy to stand off till the outlines are blurred, and conclude that Geoffrey's picture is a mere vague and ignorant invention. But with the reading and hearsay in mind which a man in his position could hardly have escaped, it is difficult to escape such an interpretation as that above.

¹ Henry of Huntingdon, p. 221.

² Ordericus Vitalis, ix, 7; vol. III, p. 502.

³ Interpolation in a MS., about 1200, of the so-called Nennius: Petrie and Sharpe, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, I (1848), 66, 73.

⁴ P. 220 (R. S.).

III

TWO LEGATES AND AN ANTIPOPE

A little earlier, at Arthur's Pentecostal crown-wearing (ix, 12), among his magnates is Dubricius, archbishop of Urbs Legionum (with its cathedral school, and its novelty a convent of canons), 'Britanniae primus [primas?] et apostolice sedis legatus.' The title obviously reflects a burning question of the decade before Geoffrey wrote. The sending to England of foreigners as papal legates, earlier very rare, became common from the mid-eleventh century, was usually opposed by king and church, and was felt by Canterbury as such a slur that Archbishop William de Corbeuil went to Rome and induced the pope in January, 1126, to create him *apostolicae sedis legatum* (to the wrath of some modern Anglicans), a title never before held by an English primate. This office he held with small interruption till his death in 1136, and thereafter it was usually held by his successors.¹ Though the groundless claim was sometimes made that this arrangement followed ancient custom,² and Geoffrey might conceivably have meant the legation of Urbs Legionum as a fictitious precedent to promote giving it to Canterbury, there is good reason to doubt this; the passage probably was intended merely to glorify the Arthurian primate, and was written later than 1125.

The name and personality of one of these unpopular Italian legates are certainly pilloried in the *Historia*, I, 5, 7, 8. The abject Greek who is bullied and suborned by Brutus into betraying Pandrasus and his countrymen to an ambush is named Anacletus. About his original there is a long story.

Petrus Petri Leonis came of the well-known wealthy and ambitious Jewish family in Rome, the Pierleoni, high in the papal service and favor, which three generations earlier had accepted Christianity,

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 128; Florence of Worcester, *Continuatio* (Engl. Histor. Soc., 1848-1849), II, 84; Gervase of Canterbury (Rolls Ser.), II, 382; Stubbs, *Constit. Hist. of Engl.* (4th edit.), I, 267, III, 306 ff.; F. Makower, *Constit. Hist. of Ch. of Engl.* (London, 1895), pp. 227 ff.; P. Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht* (Berlin, 1869-1897), I, 506 ff.; H. Tillmann, *Die päpstl. Legaten in England* (Bonn, 1926).

² Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum* (Rolls Ser.) p. 126; Wm. of Malmesbury, *G. P.*, p. 128; St Anselm, *Patr. Lat.* CLIX, 201; cf. a letter of Alexander II to William I, in Rymer, *Foedera*, I, 1.

intermarried with the Roman aristocracy, and suggestively adopted the above papal names. With his black hair, pale face and unhandsome figure richly dressed, he looked the Jew, says Ordericus Vitalis. Having been trained for the church in Paris, and as a monk at Cluny, which just then was contributing one pope after another from its community, he went ahead against ridicule, prejudice and horrible accusations, evidently by ability and wealth,¹ and arrived in England as cardinal legate in 1121, and visited the king in Wales and the convent of Canterbury (*cum iocunditate*). More heralded than any of his predecessors, according to Eadmer, traveling in pomp and regarded with apprehension by some for his rich and powerful connections, nevertheless he was promptly, munificently and genially edged out of the country, having achieved nothing except a rare amount of loot (*praeda*), and made promises at Canterbury which he could not fulfill. Under the decorous Latin of the chroniclers, unless we deny that a mediaeval could have the light touch, we cannot miss their derision; in William of Malmesbury's and Eadmer's *quidam Petrus*, and Eadmer's anticlimaxes.² In spite of this fizzle, he was elected pope by one group of cardinals in February, 1130, exchanging his name of Peter for the impeccably historic name of Peter's second successor in the list of popes, Anacletus (with the gratifying meaning Summoned to Service). But Innocent II, who was elected by another group at the same time, prevailed over him; he was accepted by little more than Rome and his sister's kingdom of Sicily, was condemned by councils, abused by St. Bernard³ as *ille iniquus qui peccare fecit Israel*, etc., and in 1138 finished the lifelike story of ambition foiled by prejudice. Not only his new name, therefore, but his personality was notorious in England.

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), iv, 384-5, v, 25, 37; *Recueil des Hist. des Gaules*, xv (Paris, 1878), 360; Arnulfus in *M. G. H.*, SS., xii, 711 ff; R. L. Poole, in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1917-18, pp. 220 ff; 225, Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, iv, 388 ff, 411; Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* (Bar-le-Duc, 1869), pp. 207, 342; *Arch. della soc. romana di storia patria*, xxvii (1904), 409 ff., and xxxix (1916).

² Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, 294-7; William of Malmesbury, *G. P.*, p. 128; Arnulfus, *l. c.*, p. 712; Tillmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-7.

³ St Bernard, *Patr. Lat.* clxxxii, 305, and 270, 535, etc.; also 294 ('constat Judaicum subolem sedem Petri in Christi occupasse iniuriam'); *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1886-92), II, 379 ff; *Camb. Med. Hist.*, v, 363-368; L. I. Newman, *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* (N. Y., 1925), pp. 248 ff.

The name Anacletus, late Greek, is found nowhere else.¹ To the mind of a churchman, what more fit name for a traitor than an anti-pope's, with a mocking memory of his ostentation and rapacity, and of his promises which had ended so flatly? This brings the date when Geoffrey began to write down to 1130 or later. Elsewhere, too, one can detect ecclesiastical interests in the choice of names and other details in the *Historia*.

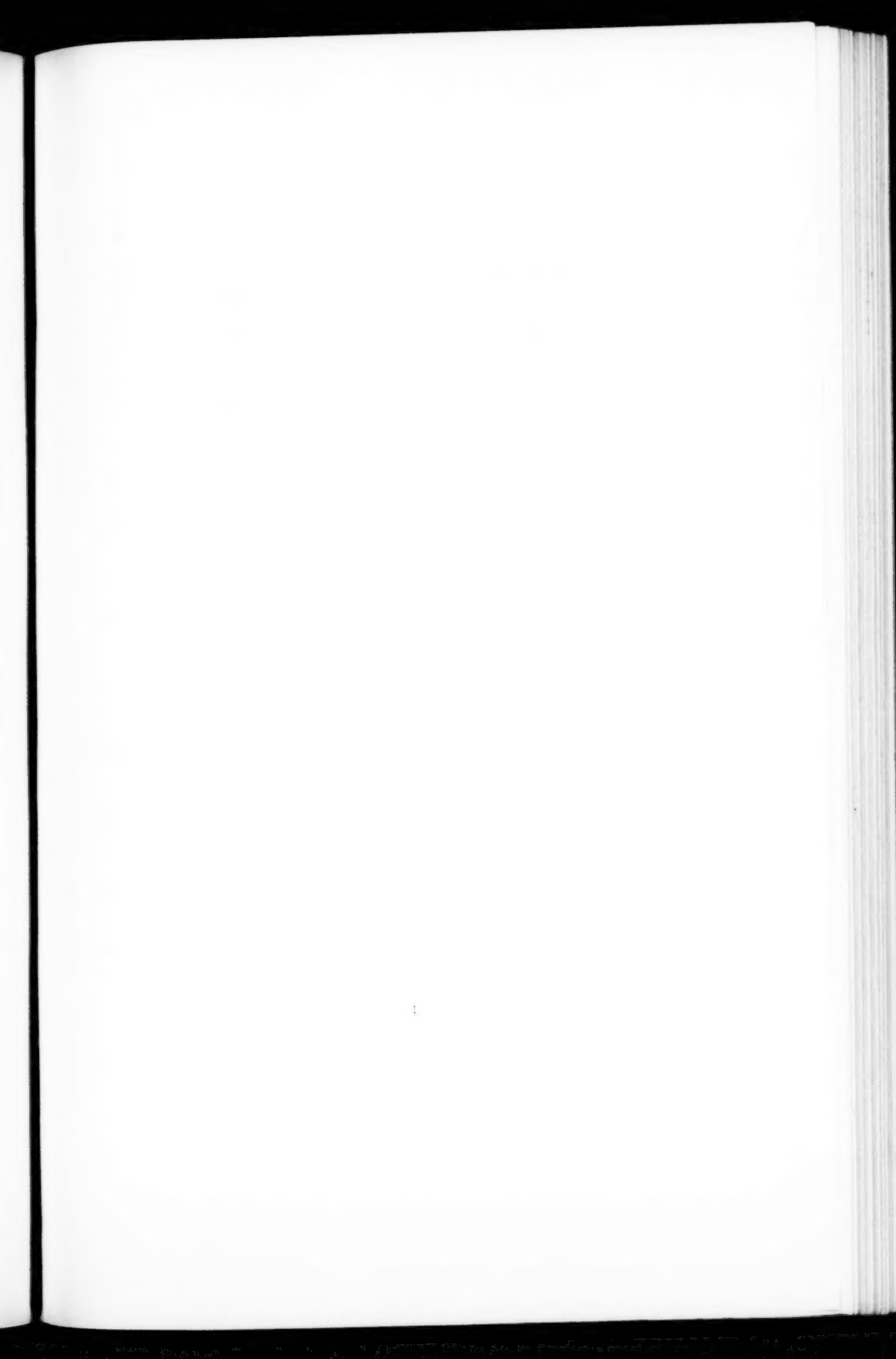
All this nomenclature would seem comfortably lifelike to a well-read and active-minded reader; but we need not doubt that there was an occasional traveler at court and monk at Durham, Bec or Canterbury, who might dimly recognize or suspect Alifatima and Anacletus, Teucer and Mustensar, and Mede and Parthian armies in Burgundy. Geoffrey took far more pains to be easy and vivid for the educated to read than to fend off doubt in the critical, and worked more for that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith than to deceive the very elect. There is an escape from that picture of two ecclesiastics putting their heads together to beguile both clerk and lewd which has shocked some moderns. Not only did no one in the middle ages dream that all the detail in a supposed history of the remote past was authentic. More than this, probably the immense majority of readers never weighed the question of authenticity at all, and hardly anyone felt it essential to settle, even as to the main outlines, if they did not contradict what was generally accepted. History and story had not yet made their declaration of mutual independence. Truth was secondary. Historians differed greatly in their attitude toward it; but, generally speaking, to the mediaeval, as to Quintilian, history was the next thing to poetry, a kind of poem without metre, written to tell a story, not to prove it.² The middle ages made their most fundamen-

¹ None of Geoffrey's chief sources mentions Anacletus I, a name less familiar than might be supposed. It appears as *Cletus* in the canon of the Westminster, York and Roman masses, in Eusebius' *Chronica* (P. L. xxvii, 598), the *Chronica* attributed to Fredegarius (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. *Merov.*, II, 35), and in *Paradiso*, xxvii, 41 (Cleto); also as Anencletus. Sometimes Cletus is the third and Anacletus the fifth pope.

² *Instit. Orat.*, x, i, 31: 'Historia est enim . . . proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum, . . . ad narrandum, non ad probandum.' Copies are common in twelfth-century library catalogues; there was one at Bec in Geoffrey's day or shortly after (Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 202, 240 etc.).

tal distinction, not between the true and the false, but between the good and pleasant and the bad and unpleasant. There were far more people who did so then than now, and that is saying a good deal. It is a delicate matter to define just how the *Historia* was meant to be taken, and was taken, on which there is a good deal of evidence, some of it familiar, not to be considered here. But any highly educated man who wholly misunderstood Geoffrey's; purpose may have been a little in the position of the Irish bishop of whom Swift wrote to Pope; who after reading *Gulliver* averred that book was full of improbable lies, and for his part he hardly believed a word of it.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA





BOCCACCIO AND FORTUNA
FROM Brit. Mus. *MS. Royal 14, E v*, Fol. 291.

TROILUS ON DETERMINISM

By HOWARD R. PATCH

WORDS are often flung about in critical usage, until a few of them stick to a subject and grow there like barnacles, as if their attachment were foreordained and their appropriateness inevitable. Thus in regard to Chaucer's interest in fatalism the word 'determinism' has more and more crept into use with reference to his thought, and even Price remarks of the famous soliloquy of Troilus that it has a 'special interest in showing us the settled determinism of Chaucer's philosophical conception of human life'.¹ When so significant an expression is used so often it must be scrutinized afresh, first for its own meaning in the modern vernacular, and secondly for its accuracy in describing the poet's philosophical ideas.

The need for such a word arises when we try to indicate the stages in the theoretical relation between the opposite poles of human freedom and external compulsion or necessity. What appears to be its readiest implication is that of the extreme of absolute compulsion — 'determinism,' when you look at it, is after all a hard word, — and, in fact, that is the usual meaning attached to it to-day.² If

¹ *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XI (1896), p. 311. Cf. also Manly, *Canterbury Tales*, (N. Y., 1928), p. 547; Tatlock, *Mod. Philol.*, III (1905-1906), p. 370; and Curry, in a skilful and important paper, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV (1930), p. 129 and p. 166, and in another, *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, XXIX (1930), p. 98. The uncertain meaning of the word in criticism is shown by its use in F. M. Grimm's *Astronomical Lore in Chaucer*, (Univ. of Nebraska Studies, Lincoln, 1919), p. 75: 'But pervading the whole is the idea of determinism, of the inability of the human will to struggle successfully against the destiny imposed by the powers of heaven,' etc. A brief survey of some medieval discussions of free will is included in Wedel's *Mediaeval Attitude Toward Astrology*, (Yale Studies in Eng., New Haven, 1920); cf. especially pp. 147 ff. suggesting that the omission of an adequate defense of free will on Chaucer's part is evidence of his 'determinism' unless his interest in the problem was 'dictated largely by artistic considerations' (cf. also p. 143).

² To show popular usage I may be pardoned for quoting the dictionaries. Webster: 'The doctrine that the will is not free, but is inevitably and invincibly determined by psychical and physical conditions'; *N. E. D.*: 'The philosophical doctrine that human action is not free but necessarily determined by motives, which are regarded as external forces acting upon the will'; *Century Dict.*: '... in direct opposition . . . to the doctrine of the freedom of the will'; *Encycl. Brit.* (eleventh ed.): 'It is opposed to the various doctrines of Free-Will. . . . It is the extreme antithesis of Indeterminism or Indifferentism, the doctrine that a man is absolutely free to choose. . . .' Cf. the remarks of Hankins, *Journ. Philos.*, XXII (1925), p. 617: 'But

it is used to connote only a degree of compulsion, then it loses in definiteness; for nearly everybody, the orthodox Christian, the pagan, the modern scientist, everyone but an out and out libertarian (as the Pelagians do vainly talk), would be a determinist. There are other terms to cover the fact of some external influence in human life, and we need one which excludes the theory of any trace of free will. In this paper, then, I shall confine the use of 'determinism' and allied expressions to such a meaning. I shall consider whether in this sense it has any applicability to the views expressed in Chaucer's *Troilus*, and what conclusions may be drawn regarding the poet's own ideas on the subject. First it will clarify the situation to look briefly into the discussion of the subject during the Middle Ages as a background to the poet's theory.

I

The importance of the question in literary history is not only intellectual but aesthetic. In literature artistic appeal varies in depicting, on the one hand, a character moved entirely by what amount to external forces (whether heritage, humors, or motives over which the individual has no control), and, on the other, a character morally responsible because, in part at least, free to choose his course. Without raising the issue of art for art's sake, we may note that in this sense the values of a work of art may include moral patterns as well as others, and that the emotional response may be changed by the fact that the onlooker cannot put aside the situation as in any way isolated, or as unrelated to his own action in the future. Reflection may be added to pity and terror if one has the conviction that one can affect one's own destiny in part, and that the future is something more than a question of mere luck. In comparison, an entirely fatalistic tragedy seems less rich in variety,

the scientist . . . affirms that the consciousness of freedom is merely an accompaniment of the conscious volitions and not a proof that action is not determined.' Part of this article maintains a scholastic principle—that knowledge is necessary for freedom (p. 628), but a fundamental weakness consists in its failure to expose its primary assumption that, knowledge being granted, choice is mechanical. A further weakness, characteristic of this school of thought, is its distrust of philosophy (cf. p. 617 and the phrase 'to the mind unspoiled by the sophistications of philosophy').

and to many will appear even warped as a picture of life. With such an art as that of fatalism there is nothing to do but weep. But whether the experience of moral tragedy is salutary or not, we may observe that it is different in important ways from that received at the spectacle of the action of irresponsible puppets.

The aesthetic importance of the distinction was clearly perceived by Aristotle, who, in discussing tragedy, at first points out that for hero an entirely virtuous man will not do, for his adversity will merely shock us.¹ On the other hand, in what is really an inductive fashion, inferring his principles from the drama of his day, and trying to formulate them in relation to his philosophy, Aristotle traces the development of a tragedy to an essential weakness in the hero. This, it is true, need not be a moral weakness,² but there can be little doubt that Aristotle deliberately chose the inclusive expression *ἀμαρτία* because he was giving special attention to his favorite tragedy, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. For elsewhere in his works the necessity of moral responsibility and of moral value is never ignored, and he shows definitely his belief in an element of human free will.³ The gravity of the question, however, is reflected in the discussion among critics as to the precise meaning of *ἀμαρτία* and as to the real cause of the tragedy in the story of Oedipus. For the latter one critic has maintained, with apparent justice, that even there a moral weakness furnishes the spring to the action: 'Yet Sophocles plainly shows even in his case that his own traits of character brought on and augmented the catastrophe. Further, this play is but one . . .'⁴ And of the characteristics of

¹ Aristotle's *Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, etc., S.H. Butcher, (London 1911), *Poetics*, XIII, 2. For discussion see pp. 302 ff.

² *Poetics*, XIII, 3-4. For discussion, see pp. 304 and 321 ff., and compare especially 349 ff. Cf. Ingram Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* (Oxford, 1909), p. 215: 'In thus making the tragic story turn on an *ἀμαρτία* Aristotle is probably thinking more immediately of the Oedipus Tyrannus.'

³ Moral responsibility is discussed in the *Nicom. Ethics*, III. Cf. Émile Boutroux, *Historical Studies in Philosophy*, trans. Rothwell (London, 1912), pp. 134-135; and Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, etc., trans. Morris and Porter (N.Y., 1891), I, p. 172. Aristotle's views are later reflected by Thomas Aquinas. In the *Poetics* note vi, 5, 10, and 17, with comment, pp. 335, 340, and 349.

⁴ Abby Leach, 'Fate and Free Will in Greek Literature,' in the *Greek Genius and its Influence*, etc., ed. Lane Cooper (New Haven, 1917), p. 148. Cf. T.D. Goodell, *Athenian Tragedy*,

the Greeks the same writer remarks: 'Freedom of thought, freedom of action, love of the beautiful, joy in living, incessant activity . . . all these are diametrically opposed to any fatalistic doctrine, to anything bordering on patient and unquestioning submission to the fixed and unalterable decrees of fate.'¹ While the Greeks had a sense of destiny, they were able to sustain the paradox of fate and free will, so well recognized and discussed in the Middle Ages. The critic's enthusiasm shows the instinctive revolt almost anyone feels at any kind of moral slavery.

The fact that Aristotle puts the cause of real tragedy in a flaw, moral or otherwise, in the leading character, rather than in the crushing power of more purely external circumstance, suggests that his own preference was typically humanistic—that he held that character, rather than forces outside the individual, is destiny.² By this we cannot mean that character is only another variety of destiny (inasmuch as character is partly a gift of nature); for it is an impressive fact that Aristotle does not put the prime cause in outer nature or in the plans of the gods. The whole point of the *ἀμαρτία* is not that it is the necessary hypothesis for destruction, but that it brings the one touch of human nature in which we may resemble the hero and apply his case to ours and ours to his. We may have tragedies where the whole action is concerned with the helpless destruction of a group of beings, where every cause is external, where no gesture or action springs from a vital spark of freedom, and thus where all the lines of artistic appeal form a beautiful harmony in their direction downward like a sentimental shower. The cross currents introduced by the interplay of free motivation will be lacking. But such tragedies will represent the sort of art

etc. (New Haven, 1920), pp. 137-138; Evelyn Abbott, *Hellenica* (N. Y., 1898), pp. 31 ff. and on p. 59 citing cases of free will; and J. R. Wheeler, 'Tragedy,' in *Greek Literature, a Series of Lectures*, etc. (N. Y., 1912), p. 114: 'With Aeschylus it is a stern law that suffering is the reward of sin. . . . Sophocles, on the other hand, clearly holds that the innocent do suffer. . . .'

¹ Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

² Cf. Butcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 354 f. and in particular Evelyn Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 57: 'If destiny, as something apart from and superior to the will of the gods, plays such an important part in Greek tragedy, it is remarkable that Aristotle should have no allusion to it in his *Poetics*. . . .'

left to us when the pseudo-scientist and certain psychological fad-dists have done their worst with human nature, and they will really embody determinism. Such, however, is not the tragedy of the Greeks, where irony springs from the reality of the human will striving in conflict with fate. Even if one holds that the human will always succumbs in any conflict with fate, and thus produces a sentimental philosophy of pessimism, the result will be other than deterministic. On the other hand, to maintain that on certain occasions the will is of no avail, and that occasionally the innocent suffer, is a still different conception. Such, I believe, is the view of Sophocles.

The real difficulty in dealing with the problem of fatalism in art comes from the fact that the mind is likely to reject the paradox of fate and free will as a contradiction. When the element of fate in a plot is successfully demonstrated, one may rush to the conclusion that free will is excluded. But the Greeks retained some belief in both; and the Middle Ages, from St Augustine and Boethius on, kept the same tradition in their analysis of predestination or grace and their recurrent insistence on human freedom and moral responsibility.¹ But the difficulty in keeping a balance between the ideas appears in the medieval debate and modern accounts of it. Thus St Thomas Aquinas follows the Aristotelian tradition of making the will subject, in a sense, to the intellect; so much so that Windelband, writing of the Occamist and Thomist controversy, speaks of St Thomas's view as that of 'intellectualistic determinism.'² Now I suppose that to-day no one would seriously maintain that in the ordinary sense of the word Thomas Aquinas was really a deter-

¹ See the *Cons. Phil.*, v, pr. iii (Chaucer's trans., ed. Skeat, p. 134, ll. 129 ff.) In another paper I have said that 'The Church Fathers held to a faith in divine predestination of human affairs, but they reconciled it with human free-will none the less. Those who held independent views on these points would be considered heretical and, like the Lollards, would be marked extraordinary. If Chaucer introduced such alien doctrines [as determinism] into the moral of his poem, he must have been deliberate in the fact and he must have been conscious that he was thereby making his work conspicuously revolutionary,' *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, xvii (1918), pp. 409-410. Mr Curry seems to agree, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 156.

² *A History of Philosophy*, trans. (Tufts N.Y., 1901), pp. 329-330. Cf. Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philos.*, I, 442, summarizing the Thomist view: 'Necessity arising from internal causes and reposing on knowledge, is freedom.'

minist. The great Doctor certainly held that, where knowledge is clear, choice will move immediately to what is best. But in actual fact knowledge is seldom so clear, and rarely is full freedom of that kind made our own (until the Truth makes us free). For the present argument it is sufficient to bear in mind that St Thomas allows choice between differing values; and one may further consult his argument that man does not choose of necessity,¹ and read again his sections on the goodness of the will, on merit and demerit.

The solution of the problem lies partly in the fact that man may suffer worldly tragedy and yet, like Job, win spiritual victory. This to some will be as unsatisfactory as the spiritual reward seems unreal; and for a valid free will they may insist that the human will should have power to control material destiny, although that is quite another matter. Boethius resolves the difficulty by putting the whole question where it belongs—in eternity, where Divine foresight is unlimited, and parallel lines are at last to meet. It is thither, we recall, that after his debate on fate and free will the soul of Troilus takes its flight.

II

From the present discussion of the paradox it is obvious that in considering Chaucer's ideas of determinism, heaping up instances of his apparent fatalism is a futile task. The gods rule the story of Palamon and Arcite as they rule life in general; astronomical forces touch the life of Constance; and we know from the discussion of God's prescience in Boethius that any man's death is 'shapen' ere his 'sherte.'² But we lose enormously in appreciating Chaucer if

¹ *Summa Theol.*, I-II^o, Q. 13, Art. 6. Cf. Étienne Gilson, *Saint Thomas D'Aquin* (Paris, 1925), pp. 85 ff. For excellent discussion see M. deWulf, *Philos. and Civiliz. in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1922, pp. 184 ff. ('So Thomas and Duns Scotus avoided the psychological determinism which puzzled other scholastics,' p. 186.) Closely similar is the material in his *Mediaeval Philos.* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 48-49. Mr Curry seems to agree, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XLV, pp. 160-161. Cf. Dante's whole scheme of punishment and reward, and the lines in the *Paradiso*, XXXIII, 100 ff. In the presence of Truth Itself, Dante's will is lost in the Divine.

² Cf. *Cant. Tales*, A. 1566 with A. 2987 ff. and its sources suggested by Skeat, to which may be added the material in my note in *Speculum*, IV (1929), p. 71, n. 2. (I am not ignoring the pertinent material in *Philol. Quarterly*, I [1922], 222 ff.) Of the *Man of Law's Tale* Mr Curry remarks: 'No one must suppose, however, that in his astrological beliefs Chaucer

we assume that because 'it is one of the glories of Chaucer's tragic art that he should have dignified his drama of human experiences by linking them up with those more mysterious and awe-inspiring forces of destiny which govern both men and the universe,'¹ he has therefore eliminated the meaning and artistic value of human free will. In the *Knight's Tale*, Chaucer has taken pains to draw on Boethius for his references to chance, and, as I have shown elsewhere,² has gone out of his way for some reason or other to reproduce the Christian portrait of Fortune in Dante in his own account of Destiny—Destiny who carries out the 'purveiaunce' of God, which, as any reader of Boethius knows, cannot and does not affect the power of human free will. Furthermore, when Arcite suffers, we remember that it was in defiance of his oath of brotherhood that he turned rival to Palamon, who after all (and it is another of Chaucer's alterations) was the first to see the lady. The gods themselves are indeed for a time doubtful about the issue.³ Whatever the degree of sentimentalism in the story told by Boccaccio, Chaucer has gone to the trouble of restoring 'poetic justice,' and, though a sense of proportion would keep one from pressing too hard the element of moral responsibility in a story of this kind, if this is a case of deter-

is an out-and-out fatalist. He is too good a church-man, I suppose, for that.' (*Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, N. Y., 1926, p. 188, cf. his note 42.)

¹ Curry, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 164.

² For discussion see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXII (1927), pp. 382-383. A somewhat similar view is expressed by Mr Curry in his *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, pp. 162-163 ('But it is Theseus of the *Knight's Tale* who has studied Boethian philosophy and can pierce beyond the mutability of Fortune in this world to the stability of God,' p. 162.)

³ A. 2438 ff. Saturn 'foond in his olde experience' a solution. The real secret of the controversy is that it is planetary, as Mr Curry shows in his *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, pp. 137 ff. One might go on to consider all of Chaucer's plots in the same way, but present space forbids. It may be briefly said, however, that we find many lines emphasizing destiny—as, e.g., *Anelida and Arcite*, 243, 339-341, and 348; but these do not fix a rigid determinism in the poem, otherwise Arcite must not be condemned for being false (cf. ll. 155) nor Anelida praised for being faithful (cf. ll. 106). I am well aware that determinists sometimes maintain that their position does not abandon the claim to moral responsibility; but what is responsibility if the individual has no choice? In any case, in the mediaeval argument, the moral problem was clearly related to that of personal freedom (cf. *Cons. Philos.*, v, pr. iii, 109 ff., Chaucer's trans. ed. Skeat). Chaucer holds regularly to a recognition of vice and virtue, merit and demerit. Cf. *the Former Age, Gentilesse, Truth*, etc. Praise and condemnation play a considerable part in his story-telling, as his remarks on the Sowdanesse (*Man of Lawe's Tale*) and those on Constance show.

minism then it is the most flexible and gentle determinism known to man.

It is a ponderous business to analyze these tales for moral implications; but it is only by so doing that we can get a hint of the author's point of view. The same difficulty rises in discussing the *Troilus*, which is a poem of youth written with incomparable lightness and charm. In dealing with it, however, we are bound to observe that, whatever the poet's joy in the telling, he has not taken the composition lightly; and a point of cardinal importance for penetrating to his own ideas is the necessity of comparing the poem with its source for evidence of the nature of the changes introduced. One might have supposed that this was somewhat axiomatic in the field of scholarship to-day. The important elements in these changes (in comparison with the *Filostrato*), often noted before, are chiefly directed toward a deep intensification of the values which Chaucer found in his original. This is true, whether it is a question of the subtlety of Criseyde and her candor with herself, or the physical details of the love-affair.¹ Pandarus is set more in

¹ Where Mr Curry compares the *Troilus* with the *Filostrato* his inferences are sometimes open to serious question. Thus in one important case he interprets the introduction of the hymn to love at the end of Book III as follows: Chaucer 'wanted to give climactic emphasis to the conception of Nature-as-Destiny. . . . Fearing that his readers might possibly miss the technical significance of the Proem and of Troilus's earlier song . . . he returned and inserted, near the end of the book and at the point where the lovers are most supremely happy, this full-throated song which reiterates and confirms the inescapable power of Love' (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 146.) Now I venture to say that Chaucer had nothing of the sort in mind. The hymn is addressed to Love and not to Destiny; it is the same Love that is addressed in the original passage in Boethius, and no more powerful here than there, where in its setting we later find the defense of free will. The passage lends a special tone, perhaps somewhat like the reiteration at the beginning of Swinburne's *Tristram*; but like the hero's earlier hymn, its chief value is its revelation of Troilus at this particular time and its contribution to the 'artistic and spiritual elevation' of the poem (cf. Root, *The Book of Troilus*, etc., Princeton, 1926, pp. xlv-xlv.)

Similarly, where Mr Curry does not compare Chaucer's lines with their original, we may fail to note that the English poet has merely taken over what Boccaccio wrote or that he has modified it with a touch of irony. Thus of III, 1373-94 Mr Curry writes: 'Here is no wicked love which might lead to base actions,' (*ibid.*, p. 145). Of course not, but neither is the passage wholly serious in manner—unless we believe that all the verses really weep as Chaucer writes. Cf. *Filostrato*, III, st. 38 and also *Troilus* I, 29-56. See Lowes, *Mod. Philol.*, xiv (1916-1917), 711 ff., and Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio*, Cincinnati, 1916, p. 51. One may compare Boccaccio's seeming inconsistency in such a passage as III, 38, contrasted with VIII, 29 (which furnished some of the lines for Chaucer's

contrast to Troilus because he is older, and achieves a special individuality thereby; but his function thus becomes the clearer, and in more perfect harmony with his vicarious satisfaction in the success of Troilus, and with his futility when Criseyde is faithless. Diomedes as well is more Diomedes than ever, when (as in Benoit) he makes love to Criseyde at once on her return instead of later. And finally the element of fate is dignified by additions from Boethius on the philosophical side, and deepened by astrological material. These additions might lead one to regard the poem as a study of a particular case of the slings and arrows of outrageous Fortune.¹

But one must not overdo the matter. While character, love, and the 'influences of these hevenes hie,' and fate itself in various ways, affect the actions of the characters in the poem, we can hardly have a right to put all these elements together, as merely separate aspects of destiny, to show the total effect of destiny on the reader or hearer. Some theorizers, it is true, did analyze fate or fortune into such separate manifestations; but we cannot assume that the average reader could be relied upon to perform the reverse process, to achieve the synthesis of all these various things, and thus to read into the poem an overwhelming power of fate which would make unreal a single stirring of merely human impulse.² Few readers, I think, would see in Troilus's impulse to love the same force as that which ruled the doom of Troy. Moreover, the great majority of Chaucer's references to Fortune or Fate are based on similar passages in the *Filostrato*, and there the same fatal scheme is in process.³

Epilogue). It is much like the 'contradiction' sometimes found between the early part of the *Troilus* and the *Epilogue*. Cf. also in the *Troilus*, iv, 470 ff. and v, 1807 ff., a contradiction which serves to unite the two parts.

¹ In relation to the present discussion Root's comment is interesting: 'Particularly Dantesque is Chaucer's method of incorporating into his poem the philosophy of Boethius, and the considerable number of astrological and other scientific allusions which it contains.' (*The Book of Troilus*, etc., p. xlv.)

² Nature confers gifts of body, but less extensively gifts of soul or character. Cf. the *Parson's Tale*, §27, 450-455. The qualities bestowed on Hypermnestra by the Wyrdes (and appropriately by Jupiter) in *L. G. W.*, 2577 ff., are those that would usually be attributed to Grace. But there is no necessity for believing that character is limited to such gifts or fixed by them permanently. Nor do all treatises agree in listing benefactions of this kind.

³ In the same way Calchas foresees the doom of Troy (t, 8); Fortune brings Pandaro to

But even if Chaucer wanted to pile Ossa upon Pelion in his attempt to increase the brooding sense of fate, yet, as we have seen, mediaevally he may not have had the slightest intention of excluding human free will. Most of his additions on the subject are taken from the argument of Boethius, and yet the conclusion of that argument in what is almost his 'favorite book' is a defense of free will. What more could fate do against Boethius, and yet what else do we learn in the *Consolatio* but the power of man in spite of odds? There is no more in the *Troilus* on the subject of destiny, astrology, or the grace of God than in the *Divine Comedy*, and yet Dante's poem is chiefly occupied with the expectations of moral responsibility.

But we do not have to concede so much as all that. At least three times Chaucer has taken pains to show his own point of view by departing from his source in passages carefully made to reveal what he thought. These resemble in some respects the corresponding passages in the *Knight's Tale* and his full discussion in the *Balade* on Fortune. If ever a writer expressed clearly and emphatically what he thought in such a case, Chaucer most certainly did. In the famous soliloquy of Troilus in Book IV, the hero gives, it is true, considerable expression to what, for the sake of the argument, we may call determinism—although I think he is rather complaining against predestination and trying to exonerate himself without impiety. In any case, there is no reason to suppose that this monologue is spoken for other than dramatic effect.¹ It shows the youth

discover Troilo in love (II, 2); Pandaro urges Criseida to seize the opportune moment (II, 44); Fortune at dawn separates the lovers (III, 45); she brings them together again (III, 64); Troilo forever blames Fortune (IV, 30; IV, 45; etc.); she causes Criseida to fall in love with Diomedes (VIII, 25); etc. etc. There is little evidence that Chaucer has attempted to interweave in his poem the various strands of fate. As Mr Curry remarks: 'It must be observed at once that in this tragedy the poet has not been able, or perhaps has been unwilling, to define the limits of destiny back of the story's action with such precision and accuracy as he has employed elsewhere.'—(*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 135. He refers for instance to the *Knight's Tale*, which I have already discussed.) Chaucer does not always take over references to Fortune from his source; I note a few examples—III, 45; IV, 113; V, 6, 23, 65. There are doubtless more.

¹ With this Mr Curry agrees (*op. cit.*, p. 152): 'And let us assume for once that he is primarily the objective artist, deliberately putting back of the story's action for purely dramatic effect the conception of Destiny which actually finds expression there.' The latter part of the sentence does not matter in this connection. A fuller exposition of my point is presented in the *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, XVII (1918), 399 ff.

in a typical mood, giving way to his feelings rather than to his intellect, with all the solemnity of his despair in a situation on which the poem as a whole sheds ironic light. In the three passages referred to, however, Chaucer deliberately modifies the philosophy of the story he found in Boccaccio,¹ giving definite expression to a Christian point of view—in two, adopting from Boethius and Dante the description of a Christian Fortuna, which removes the element of caprice from destiny, and restores the control to a rational rather than an arbitrary God;² and in the third, the Epilogue, expressly interpreting the whole plot on Christian terms. It was unnecessary to call on Boethius and Dante for the idea of Fortune as subservient to God, if the story was simply one of disaster and fatalism; the two passages are in harmony with the third, which they precede and interpret. Moreover the two passages occur at the crises of the plot, and with the third at the end bind the philosophical construction of the plot together. Thus, for anyone who reads the story as Chaucer wrote it, there is no break between the early part where Troilus gives himself up a willing victim to the Court of Love, and the end where he sees that in his tragedy were the elements of folly and learns that he has suffered from the consequences of his own choice. Of the Epilogue Root has finely said: 'Yet it is no mere tacked-on moral. It is implicit in the whole poem. . . . Chaucer is not so much pointing a moral, as giving us at the end his own verdict as to the permanent values of those aspects of our human life which are for the moment of such passionate importance.'³

Here is the main-spring of the tragedy, and here is the answer to Troilus's own soliloquy and modern assumptions of determinism in the poem. To take the words of Mr Curry: '. . . the man who does not exercise his free-will in the control and direction of his emotions, finds himself presently without free-choice in the guidance of his actions when the power of the stars descends upon him or when he comes in contact with the destinal force inherent in other peo-

¹ See my study *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 30-31 and *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii (1927), pp. 383 ff.

² III, 617 ff. and v, 1541 ff.

³ *The Book of Troilus*, etc., p. 1.

ple's influence.¹ That is well put, except that we must note that the point of choice for the man comes when he 'does not exercise his free will.' One would suppose, however, that the three important additions to the poem were sufficiently clear indications of Chaucer's own ideas, written with the greatest care, darting here for a word and there for a phrase, and finally putting the whole matter as forcibly and beautifully as ever the conclusion of a poem could. If we leave out passages like these because they conflict with our theories, we may read the *Consolation of Philosophy* as a fine study of settled determinism, and the *Divine Comedy* as a superb pagan tragedy.

III

Let us waive all previous argument, however, and try to imagine that the *Troilus* was meant to embody determinism. What then would be its meaning? In the first place, much of the criticism of the poem written so far must be discarded as worthless. Thus when Kittredge observes of Criseyde, 'She soon discovers that she has matched her woman's wit, not against her dotard father merely, but against the doom of Troy,'² we realize that she has done nothing of the kind. Nature-as-Destiny has given her the woman's wit, and the stars have given her the impulse to match it against the Doom of Troy. Hers is a case of Fate against Fate, nothing less and nothing more. When Mr. Curry remarks of Troilus, 'He fights at first against the destinal powers that would give him Criseyde for a season; he struggles against the forces which would finally take her away from him,'³ (an acute piece of criticism which reveals something that I shall speak of later—the element of symmetry in the poem), we object, Not so! Nature-as-Destiny has given him the character which under the influence of the stars here conflicts with other destinal powers. I shall not go on listing instances where critical insight is based on the assumption that Chaucer's characters have free will, but the evidence is sufficiently abundant,⁴ and on

¹ *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 161

² *Chaucer and his Poetry*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 120.

³ *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 163.

⁴ So even with Root's excellent comment: 'It is a striking fact that Criseyde, with all her

any other terms, of course, the characters represent nothing more than fate fighting with itself.

Must we give up the full meaning of Criseyde's character, that of a clear-headed young woman who looks the facts calmly in the face until she learns the necessity of self-deceit?¹ Shall we say that her paradox is only that produced by destiny, and that her candor is only an entirely meaningless reverie in which a human being is under the illusion that she is deciding her future course of action (whereas she is passive and impotent, while forces work and stimuli produce their quota of reaction)? No blame attaches to anybody in this scheme, not even to Calchas, time-server that he is, but fortunate indeed on this plan; for all are moved by the wind, the weather, and the rain. And if modern criticism has generally proceeded on a false basis, allowing some degree of responsibility to the characters, Geoffrey Chaucer has been just as guilty, and at least part of the time has been under the same illusion; for in the *Legende of Good Women* he refers with apparent sincerity to the sin of Criseyde, and even in the *Troilus* acknowledges her 'gilt,'² when it would have been a matter of the greatest simplicity, in the very passage in which he writes her defense, to say that she was really the victim of circumstance. He would, he says, excuse her for very pity. Why then, at this point, does he fail even so much as to mention fate and the stars? But it is clear that we have no right to trust

native self-assurance, never takes a single step of her own volition. And so, that she may seem to herself to have been ensnared rather than to have capitulated, Pandarus gives full play to his love of cunning stratagem,' (*The Poetry of Chaucer*, Boston, [1922], pp. 109-110); 'To herself she must seem to have yielded only to inevitable fate; but to her lover she wished to be not a helpless victim but an offering of free love,' (*ibid.*, p. 112). Cf. Florence Grimm, *Astronomical Lore in Chaucer*, p. 76: ' . . . but circumstance is as much to blame as her own yielding nature. . . .' In these observations one feels that as much concession as possible is made to what might be regarded as a deterministic view, and yet the element of free will is insisted upon.

¹ An important element in her downfall. Cf. also Griffin (*The Filostrato*, etc., N. E. Griffin and A. B. Myrick, Philadelphia, 1929, p. 66, n. 3): 'It is not her body simply that she sacrifices but her soul, for she has meditated long upon her fall and her surrender is deliberate'—this of the Italian Criseida.

² *Legende*, pro. B 332 ff., A 265 ff. Cf. *Troilus*, v, 1096 and 1775. Praise and blame run all through the *Troilus*, and play a part almost comparable to that of fate and certainly far greater than has been generally realized. Thus I, 93, 211 ff., 897 ff.; II, 841 ff., 1001; III, 1381; etc.

Chaucer's honesty, if he is really a determinist; for in the Epilogue he speaks of the pagans' cursed ancient ways and lauds Christian ethic (although we know from the passion in the earlier lines that he secretly prefers the warm sensuality of the story which contradicts it.) The Epilogue, in fact, he added only as a sop to the pious, and then (as we are fairly certain that he inserted the soliloquy of Troilus still later)¹ he went back to deepen the pagan element (which, according to some critics, was really opposed to his own philosophy.)² Surely this is a new Chaucer, and one that we have never met hitherto.

Is this really the upshot of the story? If so, why not leave the matter at the meager summary given in the opening lines of the poem? The author's purpose is merely to tell of Troilus

'In loving how his adventures fellen
Fro wo to wele, and after out of joye.'

Do we conceive of Chaucer writing the long and admittedly beautiful Epilogue⁴ to keep the orthodox undisturbed, and then return-

¹ See Root, *The Book of Troilus*, etc., pp. lxxi-lxxii.

² Thus Mr Curry: 'It is to Chaucer's everlasting glory that in the composition of this work of art he should have suppressed his private beliefs (as indicated in the Epilog) . . .'
(*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 168).

³ 1, 3-4. The mediaeval attitude toward Fortune is really shown in other lines, which, although spoken by Pandarus, I think we are justified in taking at their face value:

'For t'every wight som goodly aventure
Som time is shape, if he it can receiven;
And if that he wol take of it no cure
Whan that it com'th, but wilfulliche it weiven,
Lo, neither cas ne fortune him deceiven,
But right his owne slouthe and wrecchednesse:
And swich a wight is for to blame I gesse.'

(II, 281-287.)

A similar idea regarding this 'tide in the affairs of men' is reflected in Mr Curry's sound remarks on the *Nun's Priest's Tale*: 'One may conclude, therefore, that if Chauntecleer had ever taken the trouble to learn the distinction between simple and conditional necessity and if his mind had been less obsessed with the idea of his own importance, the fulfilment of even so true an "avisioun" as his might have been averted by the mere expedient of remaining upon the beams,' (*Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, p. 232).

⁴ Cf. Curry, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 168 ('Considered by itself, the Epilog is a poem of great beauty, lyrical in quality, the spirit of which is exalted by the undoubted sincerity and religious fervor of its author.') An amusing inconsistency in Quiller-Couch's *Studies in Literature* (Second Series, Cambridge, 1923) is found in his remarks on Chaucer:

ing to the poem to intensify elements out of harmony with it? Is most of the criticism up to date based on illusions in the critics no less than on those in the characters, especially when that criticism finds a richer meaning in the poem from the very fact of its implications of free will? All this is no exaggeration of our problem. If anyone uses determinism to imply merely an emphasis on the occasional futility (and not the unreality) of human will power in gaining material ends, then let us have that clearly stated; but such a view is in accordance with orthodox medieval philosophy (as the whole tradition of Fortune and Fate shows),¹ and even that interpretation is not wholly fair to the action of the piece. Chaucer, and for some centuries his readers as well, have been concerned with the degree of blame to attach to Criseyde, who is often cited as guilty of the cardinal sin of faithlessness. It is absurd to compare the poem with tragedies like *Macbeth* and *Othello* and *Lear*, but in all these cases the touch of human frailty explains what follows, and greater consequences follow the 'dram of eale' than the characters can foresee.

But the *Troilus* is not to be taken on such a scale. It is a poem of youth. Its high seriousness is in part that of youth, and its suffering really ends with Troilus's grief over losing Criseyde. The death of the hero, as Chaucer makes quite clear, is not an immediate part of

p. 220, 'A far heavier handicap, and one that *à priori* would almost disqualify for even a second-class award any poet who ran such long courses as Chaucer habitually entered for . . . is his innocence of deep thought, high seriousness; of that intensity which the Greeks called *σπουδαίωρης*.' Cf. p. 243, 'Matthew Arnold, noting this mundane cheerfulness, and not looking very far beyond or beneath it, tells us "And yet Chaucer is not one of the great classics," in that his poetry lacks the *σπουδαίωρης*, the high and excellent seriousness, which Aristotle assigns as one of the grand virtues of poetry. It would be cruel to Arnold's memory to suspect him of the British fault of mistrusting for serious whatever happens to be illuminated by humor. But I do suspect him of having overlooked *Troilus*, one of the most nobly serious poems in our language.' As an instance of this kind of seriousness he quotes from the Epilogue. That Chaucer is sincere in thus expressing his ideas on Courtly Love is suggested by some of the material presented in *Philol. Quarterly*, ix (1930), pp. 61 ff.; and one may note that although 'Courtly Love was extra-conjugal' (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vii [1912], p. 490), Chaucer seems always to use its motifs to celebrate wedded-love (perhaps even in the *House of Fame*.)

¹ There is, however, a steady tradition in the Middle Ages that 'Fortune aids the bold'—see *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, pp. 23 f. (n. 4) and 83 f. That man forms his own destiny is preached by Gower, *Conf. Amantis*, pro. 520 ff., and *Vox Clam.*, ii, 201 ff.; also by Lydgate, cf. Brie, *Engl. Stud.*, lxxiv (1929), 261 ff.

the tragic sequence. It is caused in an affair entirely outside of his connection with the story of Criseyde (v, 1763-1764, and 1806. Cf. *Filos.* VIII, st. 26-27.) His death must come sometime and it comes in this way to release his spirit for the flight that permits him to scan his own career and see its meaning. His flight to a Christian heaven is no stranger than the original flight of Scipio Africanus or the later one of Pompey the Great to what is substantially the same heaven. Dante shows us the Trojan Ripheus in Paradise, and we understand the point. Again Chaucer took great pains in composing the passage; and in this celestial region we as critics, like Troilus, may learn a sense of proportion. Among other things we may learn to understand that the sin of Troilus was not grave or mortal, nor his tragedy of stupendous and lasting significance (we do not observe that as a sop to the pious Troilus was plunged into hell), and that the apparatus of the Court of Love is mere tinkling symbolism as the strife of the critics is often sounding brass. The Epilogue no more contradicts the mood of the poem than various tendencies of human nature in one person contradict one another; on any other terms every Christian would have to be a complete ascetic and every Catholic a puritan. It is an aspect of Chaucer's greatness and his breadth that he can enter as heartily into the love affair as into the vision of the limitation of earthly things and the supreme value of lasting idealism.

IV

Surely it is a safe principle in criticising a great work of art to assume that the interpretation in harmony with all parts of the poem is the one nearest to the intention of the author. We should suppose that critics would hesitate before finding a passage like the Epilogue, in one of the most serious works of one of our greatest authors, a 'sorry performance,' or a 'nest of contradictions.' Another good principle to assume is that a great artist knows what he is about, and that he has a right to be understood on his own terms. In all fairness in the interpretation of the *Troilus*, how can we reject the Epilogue and deny any Christian meaning in the passages on Fortune? Can we throw overboard all criticism up to now because

of a recrudescent psychological fad? Shall we hold that Chaucer intended one meaning for the Christians of his day and another, assuming that they were a different group, for those who liked a kind of pagan tragedy, the very existence of which is doubtful in that period? And, finally, can we assume that, for the sake of the thrill, the poet used an alien philosophy to get his effects?

This last point is one that deserves a moment's special attention. Has Chaucer used determinism for artistic purposes in the body of the poem (assuming, for the moment,—as we cannot—that the poem will bear such a reading), and then added the Epilogue as a later *confessio fidei* to set the public at rest about himself? This is a wholly different matter from Milton's using the Ptolemaic system of astronomy for *Paradise Lost*, or from Wordsworth's calling on Platonism for the poetic truth of the *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*. Determinism implies a special attitude toward life as a whole. It is, I believe, an unworthy conception of the nature of art to hold that a writer may adopt for the nonce whatever philosophy has artistic value and play it for its effect as if it meant nothing in particular.¹ Before we commit ourselves to such a theory we must see important examples of the trick furnished by great writers, examples generally accepted as such by competent critics. To play with philosophy for the sake of a sensation is hardly characteristic of any poet who sees art as a source of something more than ordinary pleasure.

If we accept Chaucer's terms the poem is in harmony with his philosophy. Troilus on earth may expound determinism with all the determination of his desperate nature; but from the heights of heaven, looking back with more humor, he abandons the idea and admits his folly. There are thus two layers of meaning in the poem symmetrically adjusted to each other: Troilus was guilty of sinning against the Court of Love, and was punished by Criseyde's

¹ Is this what we have in the case of Pope's *Essay on Man*? I hardly think so. In any case I trust I need not point out that this matter is different from Chaucer's letting Troilus give expression to determinism for 'dramatic effect,' where the author does not agree with the character. It is gratifying to notice that no one seems to have cited the *Retraction* against the *Epilogue* of the *Troilus*. In the *Retraction* the point turns on what "sounen into sinne" really means.

infidelity; from the Christian point of view, he was guilty of yielding to blind pleasure, and he suffered. Doubly therefore he was responsible for what occurred. The dedication to Gower and Strode, which causes difficulty for those who take another view, is thus explained as delightfully appropriate. The poet, not too gravely and not without impudence, agrees with these gentlemen for at least once. It has been remarked earlier in this study that the poem may seem almost like the presentation of a particular case of the workings of chance with the *Consolation of Philosophy* as a background. The caprice of Fortune exalts and lowers the unhappy Troilus; the question of free will is raised, and the process is roughly similar to that of the *Consolatio* up to the solution. Here again we may observe that the solution in the poem is precisely that furnished by Boethius, who also bids mankind to lift its eyes to the contemplation of eternal values; Troilus in fact proceeds to eternity where all these difficulties are made plain. The conclusion of Boethius, although suggesting no verbal influence, represents in sum the moral of the Epilogue:

‘ “And god, biholder and for-witer of alle thinges, dwelleth above; and the present eternitee of his sighte renneth alwey with the dyverse qualitee of oure dedes, despensing and ordeyninge medes to goode men, and torments to wikked men. Ne in ydel ne in veyn ne ben ther nat put in god hope and preyeres, that ne mowen nat ben unspeedful ne with-oute effect, whan they ben rightful.

‘ “Withstond thanne and eschue thou vyces; worshipe and love thou virtues; areys thy corage to rightful hopes; yilde thou humble preyeres a-heigh. Gret necessitee of prowesse and vertu is encharged and commaunded to yow, yif ye nil nat dissimulen; sin that ye worken and doon . . . biforn the eyen of the Iuge that seeth and demeth alle thinges.” *To whom be glorye and worshipe by infinit tymes.* Amen.¹

Even to the prayer the spirit of the *Consolatio* is in the *Troilus*, its hymns are taken over in various parts of the poem, its philosophy quoted here and there, and the final moral is the same. To urge

¹ v, pr. vi, 209 ff. Cf. for a similar moral v, pr. ii, 24 ff. The fifth book is full of pertinent material, and the *sursum corda* is again found in v, m. v, 13 ff. Henryson in his *Testament of Cresseid* exonerates Cresseid in one place (89-91) and in another admonishes ladies not to mingle false deception with their love (613). Skelton in *Philip Sparrow*, l. 681, refers to the ‘wanton wills’ of the hero and heroine. Cf. Hawes, *Pastime of Pleasure*, ed. W. E. Mead, London, 1928, EETS. 173, l. 1332; and also ll. 1319 ff. on Chaucer’s morality. Cf. B. L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius*, Princeton, 1917, p. 130: ‘Indeed so

that in the *Troilus* the feeling of the sections regarding love and passion is really pagan, and therefore totally opposed to the mood of the Epilogue, is like objecting to the sympathetic presentation of the grief of Boethius in the *Consolatio* when the moral enlightenment bestowed by Philosophy is later to follow. In the Epilogue the influence of Boethius on Chaucer's own conception of life in its more important aspects is finally complete.

Elsewhere Chaucer again studies the problem of fate. Chauntecleer in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* is fearful of what destiny has in store for him, his wife causes him much trouble, and his tragedy is linked with that of Troy and Rome as well (B. 4546 ff.). One might take the following lines as indicative of Chaucer's settled determinism:

'O destinee, that mayst nat been eschewed!
Alas, that Chauntecleer fleigh fro the bemes!
Allas, his wyf ne roghte nat of dremes!
And on a Friday fil al this meschaunce.' (B. 4528 ff.)

But the fates seem to be in conflict once more, Fortune steps in to help the hero, and apparently if a man keeps his eyes open he can take advantage of celestial indecision.

'For he that wynketh, whan he sholde see,
Al wilfully, God lat him never thee!' (B. 4621-4622).

Haec fabula docet. Chaucer's head was where it should be, and he did not cultivate a sentimental art at the expense of common sense.

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philosophical a poem is *Troilus*, so much does it abound in Boethian passages, so much does it illustrate the truth of the Boethian teaching, that it is possible even to suppose that Chaucer translated the *Consolation* for the express purpose that *Troilus* might be the better interpreted; at any rate, the two works go hand in hand.' An echo of the *Epilogue*, so far unnoticed, may be found in Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, ed. A. Erdmann, *EETS.*, pt. 1, (London, 1911), ll. 4047-4058 (cf. the *Troilus*, v, 1849-1855. Cf. also v, 1828 ff.) Apparently there was nothing in Lydgate's source to suggest exactly these lines. Note the balance between fate and free will just before in the passage (ll. 4031 ff.) describing how Amphiorax disappeared 'only of fate,' and 'thus the devel for his old outrages' 'lich his decert, paid hym his wages.'

CASSIODORE ET SON ŒUVRE

PAR A. VAN DE VYVER

LE PLUS souvent, on exagère le rôle politique de Cassiodore sous le régime italo-goth et l'on se méprend sur le caractère de son œuvre dans sa fondation à Vivarium, dont, pour le moment, nous ne sommes pas encore à même de déterminer la part qu'elle a prise dans la transmission de l'héritage antique.

Encore récemment, on a qualifié notre homme d'état comme l'inspirateur de toute la politique théodoricienne, qu'il aurait dominée, tel un chancelier d'empire.¹ Cette erreur d'appréciation est due à l'importance capitale que présentent ses écrits, et particulièrement son recueil d'actes administratifs, pour la connaissance de ce régime dualiste qu'il a si bien su définir.² Elle provient aussi de ce qu'on assimile trop souvent ce système politique au gouvernement des rois francs, généralement mieux connu. En Gaule, et surtout dans sa

¹ L'expression est de F. Schneider, *Rom u. Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1926), p. 87, 29. Cet auteur a tort de répudier (p. 256, 1) la conception que les spécialistes se font de notre politicien et de retourner à celle que l'on trouve encore répandue sous une forme atténuée, mais qui date de l'époque à laquelle le régime ostrogothique et la chronologie des *Variae* n'étaient encore qu'imparfaitement connus avant les travaux de Mommsen, 'Ostgotische Studien,' *Neues Archiv*, xiv (1889), 223-249, 455-544; xv (1890) 181-188 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, III (1910), 362-484) et son éd. des *Variae*, *M. G. H., A.A.*, XII (1894), (citée: Mommsen); G. Pfeilschifter, *Theoderich d. Grosse u. d. Katholische Kirche* (Münster, 1896); L. M. Hartmann, *Gesch. Italiens im Mittelalter*, I (Gotha, 1897; 2^e éd. 1923); R. Cessi, préface à son éd. de l'*Anon. Valesianus* dans *Rerum Ital. Script.* de L. Muratori, 2^e édition de G. Carducci et V. Fiorini, xxiv, 4 (fasc. 114-115), Bologne, 1913; J. Sundwall, *Abhandlungen z. Gesch. d. ausgehenden Römertums* (Helsingfors, 1919). — L'étude presque ignorée de A. Gaudenzi, 'L'Opera di Cass. a Ravenna,' *Atti e Memorie d. R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le prov. di Romagna*, Série III, t. III (1885), 235-334, t. IV (1886), 426-63, est injuste pour notre ministre, parce qu'elle ne le comprend pas assez en fonction de son époque. La bibliographie de celle-ci est relevée dans les *Jahresberichte* de Bursian, CLXXXIV (1920), 1-90, et CCXIII (1927), 41-167. Depuis, n'ont paru que des travaux très généraux, comme ceux de F. Lot, *La Fin du Monde antique* (Paris, 1927), et *Histoire du Moyen-Age*, I, 1 (Paris, 1928), dans l'*Hist. gén.* de G. Glotz; E. Stein, *Gesch. d. spätromischen Reiches*, t. I, (an. 284-476), Vienne, 1928; A. Fliche, 'La Chrétienté médiévale,' (395-1254), *Hist. du Monde*, de E. Cavaignac, VII, 2 (Paris, 1929) [de moindre valeur].

² La dissertation de A. Th. Heerklotz, *Dis Variae v. Cassiodorus Senator als kulturgeschichtliche Quelle* (Heidelberg, 1926), n'apporte pas plus de neuf que le petit travail du Dr. G. A. Punzi, *L'Italia del VI sec. nelle Variae di Cass.* (Aquila, 1927). Par contre, H. Nickstadt, *De digressionibus quibus in Variis usus est Cass.* (Inaug. Diss., Marburg, 1921), a prouvé que les *excursus* des *Var.* dans le domaine de l'histoire naturelle sont empruntés à l'*Hezaëmeron* de St Ambroise.

partie septentrionale, la pénurie de collaborateurs romains éclairés laissait durant des années les mêmes conseillers auprès du roi, qui disposait de sa conquête avec un pouvoir despotique. Par contre, en Italie, l'administration romaine subsistait tout entière. La plupart du temps, les ministres ne doublaient ou ne triplaient leurs fonctions quasi annuelles — ordinairement elles débutaient le 1^{er} septembre — que si la politique de leur parti s'harmonisait avec le cours des événements et était à l'unisson des courants d'opinion, selon la direction que le roi, représentant théorique de l'empereur, voulait donner aux uns et aux autres.

A juste titre, M. Ludw. Schmidt¹ s'est élevé contre cette tendance à surestimer la part que Cassiodore prit au gouvernement italo-goth. Mais sa mise au point renforce la thèse qu'il combat. Il fait remarquer avec raison, qu'avant la conquête, la base éventuelle du régime fut établie par l'accord entre l'empereur Zénon et Théodoric. Elle ne devait différer des conditions qui régissaient le gouvernement d'Odoacre et qui étaient imposées par la situation même de l'Italie, que par la promesse d'une soumission plus étroite à l'empereur. Après de laborieuses négociations, celui-ci reconnut le nouveau titulaire en 497.² Même l'un des palliatifs les plus originaux par lequel le roi essaya de consolider sa conquête, notamment son système d'alliances matrimoniales avec les principales cours barbares — un essai de pacte de famille — est antérieur à la questure de Cassiodore. Cependant M. Schmidt insiste³ pour reculer vers 501 cette première charge du ministre de Théodoric, que depuis Mommsen on s'accorde à fixer de 507 à 512. Il estime, en effet, que les lettres aux rois barbares (*Var.*, III, 1-4) n'ont point été composées immédiatement avant la guerre franco-visigothique, mais qu'elles sont antérieures à la conférence d'Amboise (502); qu'au moins elles datent de 506.

Certes, Gondebaud avait renoncé dès 502 à l'alliance des Visigoths

¹ 'Cass. u. Theodorich,' *Historisches Jahrbuch d. Görresgesellschaft*, XLVII (1927), 727-729.

² Cf. R. Fruin, 'Du titre de roi porté par quelques participants à l'imperium romanum,' *Revue d'Histoire du Droit*, IX (1920), 140-149.

³ *Loc. cit.* et 'Comites Gothorum,' *Mitteilungen d. Oesterr. Inst. f. Gesch.*, XL (1925), 133; XLI (1926), 320-323, où il reprend cette thèse de sa *Gesch. d. deutschen Stämme* (publiée depuis 1904 dans les *Quellen u. Forsch. z. alten Gesch. u. Geogr.* de W. Sieglin et éditée séparément), I (1910), 273 et n. 3; II (1918), 294 (cf. *Corrig.*, t. I, 474, ad. 268, 25).

pour passer aux côtés de Clovis. Ce n'est pas une raison pour que Théodoric ne s'attachât à le gagner comme auxiliaire dans ses propositions de paix qu'il voulait imposer à son beau-fils, Alaric, comme à son beau-frère, le roi franc lui-même.¹ Dans le panégyrique qu'il tint pour le roi au début de 507,² Ennode rappelle en dernier lieu, comme un fait récent, que les Alamans ont été casés en territoire italien. Or, la lettre *Var.*, II, 41, à Clovis, qui avait protesté contre cette mesure, l'invite à user de modération envers les vaincus de 496, qui s'étaient réfugiés dans une région dont la situation était sans doute mal définie, mais que Théodoric revendique pour sa domination (la Rhétie II^{de}).³ Vraisemblablement, c'est pour masquer d'autant mieux ses préparatifs contre les Visigoths que le roi franc avait témoigné son attachement au Grand Roi, en le chargeant de l'envoi d'un joueur de cithare, tandis que son allié Gondebaud commandait une clepsydre et un cadran solaire! (*Var.*, I, 45-46)⁴ Aussi, Théodoric fut bientôt surpris par l'état d'avancement des préparatifs de Clovis. L'ambassade qui devait conjurer le conflit ne put aboutir et l'armée ostrogothique n'entra en campagne que l'année suivante (508). Nous connaissons d'ailleurs les prédécesseurs de Cassiodore

¹ Souvent *frater* désigne un collègue (cf. *inf.* p. 257, n. 5). Il est d'autant plus compréhensible que Théodoric applique cette appellation à Gondebaud, qu'en 472 le roi des Burgondes avait été nommé par l'empereur Olybrius *magister equitum* en Italie, comme successeur de son oncle Ricimer, et que son fils avait épousé une fille naturelle de Théodoric (cf. F. Wrede, *Neues Archiv.*, XIV, 583-584).

² La date est établie par Sundwall, *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

³ Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, II, 298; *Mitt.*, XLI (1926), 320, et P. E. Martin, *Etudes critiques sur la Suisse à l'époque mérovingienne* (Genève, 1910), p. 60, ont raison de faire remarquer à L. M. Hartmann (*loc. cit.*, I (2^e édition), 168, n. 15) et E. Stein (*Rhein. Museum*, 1925, p. 381) que *Var.* III, 50 ne vise que le passage à travers le Norique de contingents alamanniques comme troupes auxiliaires, ayant reçu pour mission de protéger la frontière orientale contre une attaque des Byzantins. Aussi, Cassiodore a rangé ce document parmi ceux qui intéressent la guerre franco-visigothique (livre III-IV des *Var.*). Certes, son épistolaire ne tient pas toujours compte de l'ordre chronologique. Cette disposition est pourtant observée dans les lettres que Cassiodore adressa en sa qualité de questeur (I-IV) aux préfets de la Ville (cf. Mommsen, p. VIII).

⁴ Quant à la lettre *Var.*, IV, 2, par laquelle Théodoric adopte comme son fils le roi des Hérules, elle confirme parfaitement la chronologie des *Variae*, puisque, par la suite, ce peuple, vaincu en 505 par les Lombards en Basse-Autriche, chercha une aide plus efficace chez les Gépides et entra en 512 dans la partie orientale de l'empire. Cf. L. Schmidt, *Gesch.*, I, 312. *Var.*, III, 3, laisse supposer que leur défaite n'avait pas été catastrophique. Théodoric ne pouvait manquer d'ailleurs, de demander l'aide éventuelle de son fils d'armes.

dans la questure: Faustus de 503 au début de 506, et Eugène de 506 au début de 507. A cette époque notre futur ministre était encore assistant de son père dans la préfecture du prétoire (503-507).¹

A vrai dire, ce n'est que durant les toutes dernières années du règne de Théodoric et la décade suivante que Cassiodore occupa une situation de premier plan dans la politique de la péninsule comme l'un des principaux représentants du parti national-italien et à la cour de Ravenne, successivement, comme maître des offices (523-527) et préfet du prétoire (533-537). Qu'il fut questeur (début 507-début 512) à l'âge de 20 ans environ, il le dut à l'influence de son père. Cet ex-ministre des finances sous Odoacre (*comes rerum privatarum*, puis *comes sacrarum largitionum*) s'était recommandé à Théodoric lors de sa conquête de l'Italie, en passant dans son parti avec la riche Sicile, dont il était le gouverneur. Cependant Théodoric désigna comme son premier préfet du prétoire (ca. 493-500), non point le père de Cassiodore, mais le patrice Libère, quoique celui-ci fût resté fidèle à Odoacre jusqu'à la fin. Un peu auparavant, le roi s'était choisi comme maître des offices (mi 492-493) Fauste (consul en 490), le parent de Libère et d'Ennode.² Le vainqueur récompensa le père de Cassiodore par le gouvernement de ses provinces d'origine (*corrector Lucaniae et Bruttiorum*). Ce n'est que dix ans plus tard que cet ancien ministre d'Odoacre, d'origine provinciale³ et qui n'était pas parvenu à atteindre le consulat—le fils aîné de Faustus

¹ Voir chez Sundwall, *loc. cit.*, les prosopographies de ces personnages, et p. 30-44, l'analyse de la correspondance d'Ennode. (cf. Vogel, *Neues Archiv.*, xxxiii [1898], 63-74). Toutefois, p. 42, l'auteur a tort de dater la lettre à Clovis concernant les Alamans (*Var.*, II, 41) 'au plus tôt de la fin de 507.' Elle est antérieure aux lettres (*Var.*, III, 1-4) qui accompagnèrent la tentative diplomatique d'empêcher la guerre franco-visigothique qui se déclancha vers la Pentecôte de l'année 507.

² Une bonne partie de l'épistolaire du diacre de Milan lui est adressée.—Voici une autre lettre pontificale qui désigne cette fonction par *magister* tout court (cf. Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 118): Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 50 c. Cf. col. 197 b. Ce témoignage n'est pas cité par A. Boak, *Two Studies in Late Roman and Byzantine Administration* (New York, 1924), p. 151.

³ Certes, son grand-père avait acquis une certaine notoriété pour avoir mis en défense la Sicile, dont il était le gouverneur, et le Bruttium, où étaient situés ses domaines, contre les attaques des Vandales en 455, tandis que son fils avait débuté dans la politique comme ambassadeur auprès d'Attila, en compagnie du fils d'Aétius. Mais par la suite ce grand-père de Cassiodore ne devint que *tribunus et notarius* sous le règne de Valentinien III (425-455) et se retira bientôt sur ses terres. En s'abstenant de collaborer au gouvernement d'Odoacre, la haute noblesse romaine aux tendances légitimistes, permettait à la noblesse de province de

l'obtint en 502 et son cadet en 506 —, assuma de 503 à 507 (1^{er} septembre?) comme préfet du prétoire la direction du gouvernement de l'Italie. En même temps, Faustus, qui durant les schismes romains (nov. 498-sept. 506) s'était trouvé à la tête du parti catholique-italien,¹ rentra au palais en qualité de questeur (503-début 506). Cette situation donna lieu, semble-t-il, à des froissements, et fut cause qu'à la suite de difficultés, le parent d'Ennode² dut abandonner son poste un an avant le père de Cassiodore, qui reçut à sa sortie de charge le titre honorifique de patrice, dont Faustus avait sans doute été gratifié après sa fonction de maître des offices.

Ayant pris son jeune fils comme assistant (*consiliarius*)³ durant sa préfecture, le père de Cassiodore sut, avant même de la quitter,⁴ le faire agréer comme questeur (début 507-début 512), en raison de ses mérites littéraires et à la suite d'un panégyrique que le jeune candidat tint pour le roi.⁵ Mais le diacre Ennode contribua de la même façon à la réhabilitation de son parent et lui obtint la succession du père de Cassiodore dans la préfecture du prétoire, tandis que le fils de Faustus était également appelé à une haute fonction. Cependant, le patrice rencontra à la cour de nouvelles difficultés, auxquelles le jeune Cassiodore ne fut sans doute pas étranger. Vingt ans plus tard,

s'élever plus aisément jusqu'au plus haute charge. Le père de Cassiodore fut un des premiers à profiter de cette attitude. Cf. Mommsen, p. VIII.

¹ Cf. L. Duchesne, *L'Eglise au VI^e siècle* (Paris, 1925), p. 109-155 (= *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1915, p. 221-256).

² Quoiqu'à l'affût de relations, le diacre ne mentionne pourtant aucune fois les Cassiodore.

³ E. Stein, *Untersuchungen über d. Officium d. Prütorianer Präfektur* (Vienne, 1922), p. 5, a montré qu'à côté du fonctionnaire qui occupait le poste le plus élevé de la hiérarchie prétorienne, dans laquelle on avançait par grade d'ancienneté, le préfet pouvait se choisir un autre chef de cabinet parmi ses hommes de confiance.

⁴ H. Usener, 'Anecd. Holderi,' *Festschrift zur Begrüssung d. 32. Versammlung deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner*, (Bonn, 1877), p. 69 (cf. Vogel, *Neues Archiv.*, xxiii [1898], 73) a conclu du fait que l'*exeat* accordé au père de Cassiodore fut rédigé par le fils, que celui-ci devint questeur durant la préfecture de son père. Comment expliquer cependant que *Var.*, ix, 24-25, nous trouvons également la nomination de Cassiodore comme préfet du prétoire? On peut admettre que cette pièce n'a point été composée par l'auteur des *Variae*, mais qu'il l'y a insérée par amour-propre, sous prétexte qu'elle se rapportait à sa fonction. Oserait-on supposer que Cassiodore l'aurait composée de toutes pièces, tout comme celle adressée à son père?

⁵ Il n'y a pas lieu de rejeter avec Mommsen, p. x, et Sundwall, *Abhandl.*, p. 154, la mention de l'*Anecd. Holderi*, éd. *Var.*, p. vi, 17-18, au sujet du discours en l'honneur du roi, puisqu'Ennode prononça un pareil panégyrique vers la même époque. La nomination du jeune Cassiodore servit peut-être de compensation à celle de Faustus et de son fils.

en effet, l'ex-questeur publia dans ses *Variae* les lettres, par lesquelles le roi reprochait au préfet son administration peu scrupuleuse et qui lui signifèrent une fois un congé de quatre mois. Par contre, le père de Cassiodore fut, sans doute vers cette date, appelé à la Cour.¹

Peu de temps après sa sortie de charge, son fils reçut le consulat (514) et devint à son tour gouverneur de son pays d'origine (*corrector Lucaniae et Bruttiorum*).² Mais vraisemblablement à cette époque Cassiodore perdit son père, et durant dix années (512-522) d'apogée du règne de Théodoric, il ne remplit aucune charge à la Cour. Il attira l'attention en composant un *Chronique* à l'occasion du consulat d'Eutharic (519), le gendre et successeur présumé de Théodoric. Dans cette nomenclature de rois et de consuls, il inséra quelques rares notices historiques, visant surtout à introduire le peuple Goth dans l'histoire sous un jour favorable.³ C'est à cette tâche qu'il consacra sa grande *Histoire des Goths*, en douze livres. Il poussa le zèle jusqu'à dresser une généalogie fantaisiste des rois Goths, en vue d'établir leur vétuste souveraineté.⁴ Cassiodore entreprit sans doute cette œuvre avant sa fonction de maître des offices (523-527) et l'acheva durant les années (527-533) qui précédèrent sa charge de préfet du prétoire.⁵

Cette activité littéraire, qui glorifiait le passé du peuple goth et dont l'auteur déclare avoir été chargé par Théodoric, ne fut sans doute pas sans influence sur le choix que le roi fit de lui comme successeur de Boèce dans la fonction de maître des offices (vers le début de 523), lorsque le patrice eut été déposé et fut bientôt exécuté, pour être intervenu dans le procès d'Albinus en faveur des droits du Sénat comme corps politique. Ainsi, Cassiodore ne rentra au gouvernement qu'après dix ans d'absence et dans des circonstances qui ne durent pas paraître très honorables aux membres de la haute aristo-

¹ La lettre au père de Cassiodore est la 28^me du III^e livre des *Var.*, celles à Faustus concernant ses irrégularités figurent II, 30; III, 20-21.

² On ne saurait cependant préciser la date à laquelle il exerça cette charge.

³ Cf. M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, IV, 2 (1920), 95, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. H. v. Sybel, *Entstehung d. deutschen Königthums* (2^e éd., Frankfurt, 1881), p. 184 ss., et A. v. Gutschmid, *Jahrbücher f. class. Philol.*, LXXXV (1862), 124-151 = *Kleine Schriften*, V, 293-336.

⁵ Sur ce point très controversé, cf. Mommsen, p. xi et Cessi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxix, 3 ss.

cratie romaine. Il est vrai qu'il n'avait que trente-cinq ans environ, et qu'il avait débuté à un âge précoce, grâce à l'influence que possédait son père. Mais il sut mériter l'estime par les conseils de modération que, sans doute, il donna au roi dans ces conjonctures difficiles. Cependant, à partir du 1^{er} septembre 524, il eut à subir comme collègues des membres de l'aile gauche de son parti, dévoués aux intérêts goths, tel Cyprianus, — qui malgré l'intervention de Boèce, son préposé comme maître des offices, avait soumis au roi et soutenu en sa qualité de référendaire l'accusation contre Albinus. De même, Honoratus succéda alors dans la questure à son frère Decoratus, qualifié par Boèce de fourbe et de délateur. Après la mort du Grand Roi, sa fille, la régente Amalasonthe, désireuse de faire agréer par l'empereur la succession de son fils, adopta une politique très bienveillante à l'égard du Sénat et renvoya ces ministres qui s'étaient compromis par leur attitude anti-romaine, mais elle garda Cassiodore encore un an au pouvoir. Le ministre contribua de son mieux à conjurer la crise qui pouvait résulter de cette succession échue à un mineur. A côté de sa charge de maître des offices, il assumait de fait celle de questeur, tout en dirigeant et en assurant à ses frais la défense des côtes contre une attaque possible.¹ Seulement, la régente dut bientôt céder à la pression des chefs barbares. En 527 (1^{er} septembre), Cassiodore et ses nouveaux collègues eurent à quitter leurs fonctions pour les politiciens de gauche qui avaient été débarqués l'année précédente.² Chose curieuse, à la préfecture fut promu le fils aîné de ce patrice Faustus, que le père de notre ministre démissionnaire avait jaloué. Comme Cassiodore, le nouveau préfet appartenait à la fraction modérée du parti national.³

Mais la direction de la politique changea bientôt. L'élection du pape Jean II (2 janvier 533) fut le signe précurseur de ce revirement,

¹ *Var.*, ix, 24, 6; 25, 7-9. Lors de la crise qui assombrit les dernières années de Théodoric, (procès de Boèce, etc.) le vieux roi avait fait construire une flotte (*Var.*, v, 16-20).

² Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 250 ss., a fort bien analysé les oscillations de la politique sous la régence d'Amalasonthe. — En 530 un clerc goth de naissance réussit même à se faire élire pape malgré la résistance du Sénat. Cf. pourtant Ad. Harnack, 'Der erste deutsche Pabst u. die beiden letzten Dekreten d. röm. Senats,' *Sitzungsber. d. preussischer Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (Berlin, 1924), fasc. v.

³ L'aile gauche de ce parti ne comptait sans doute point de personnalité assez marquante pour remplir cette fonction ni celle de préfet de Rome. Cf. Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 264, n. 2.

et l'exécution des généraux goths qui pesaient sur le gouvernement de la régente en constituaient l'acte décisif. A son tour, Cassiodore fut appelé (1^{er} septembre 533) à la plus haute charge. Il y avait six ans qu'il avait rempli une fonction. Une lettre du pape aux chefs nationalistes, qui s'étaient plaints de ce que le chef de l'Eglise romaine eut négligé de les tenir au courant de ses tractations avec l'empereur concernant l'affaire des moines scythes, ne nous permet pas de constater quel rang Cassiodore occupait dans son parti un peu après (ou un peu avant) le 24 mars 534.¹ Car c'est sans doute en raison de sa fonction que le préfet du prétoire est mentionné immédiatement après Aviénus, — le fils du patrice Faustus qui avait déposé cette charge l'année précédente, mais était vraisemblablement chef du Sénat, en sa qualité de plus ancien ex-consul (502),² — et avant le vieux Libère, le préfet des Gaules (c. à d., de la Provence, conquise en 508).³ Cependant, tel devait être à peu près l'importance qu'il avait réellement dans son parti. Le fils de Faustus avait succédé sans doute à son père, qui vraisemblablement s'était trouvé à la tête du parti national depuis que Libère avait été chargé de la préfecture des Gaules (510) et que sa dignité de *patricius presentalis* (533) l'obligeait à observer de la réserve.

La situation de ce parti au pouvoir était critique en cette année 533-534. Bélisaire venait de reconquérir l'Afrique sur les Vandales et fournissait ainsi un appoint au parti byzantinisant de la haute noblesse romaine. D'autre part, Amalasonthe et son cousin Théodohad cherchaient eux-mêmes à se concilier l'appui de l'empereur.⁴ Quand, à l'aide du parti goth, Théodohad eut emprisonné et bientôt fait exécuter la reine, le patrice Libère, envoyé à Constantinople pour justifier ce coup d'état, dévoila les méfaits du roi et resta en Orient, tandis qu'Opilion — qui avait témoigné contre Boèce — nia la culpabilité de Théodohad. La désagrégation du parti italien était proche, coïncé comme il l'était entre la minorité dévouée à Byzance

¹ Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, LXVI, 20 et Ed. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum*, IV, 2 (1914), 200; cf. p. XXVI; Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 276, n. 3.

² Dix ans plus tard, en effet, nous trouvons comme chef du Sénat Cethegus, le consul de 504.

³ Cf. Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 261-262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

et la fraction des ultra-goths. Avec ceux-ci, Cassiodore essaya pour tant de sauver l'indépendance italienne, tandis que le roi, prêt à toutes les lâchetés pour se sauvegarder un avenir, trahissait tous les partis.

Le préfet du prétoire était cependant en d'aussi bons termes avec le nouveau pape Agapet (535-536), favorablement disposé pour l'empereur, qu'il s'occupa avec lui de la fondation à Rome d'une école supérieure de théologie, en vue de laquelle le pape avait déjà fondé une bibliothèque chrétienne. Aussi l'initiative de ce dessein ne vint sans doute point du ministre.¹

Les circonstances n'étaient certes pas favorables à une pareille entreprise. Déjà les troupes byzantines avaient fait leur apparition en Sicile et en Dalmatie (fin 535) et sur l'ordre du roi, le pape dut entreprendre une légation à Constantinople, où il mourut.² Dès ses premières défaites, Théodohad fut abandonné par ses troupes, qui élevèrent sur le pavois l'un de leurs plus intrépides généraux, Witigès. Un panégyrique que Cassiodore tint comme préfet du prétoire rehaussa le mariage du nouveau roi avec la fille d'Amalasonthe. Cette union devait servir à légitimer la succession au trône (fin 536-début 537).³ Mais dans la lutte contre la conquête byzantine, le commandement militaire obtint sans doute la haute main sur le gouvernement à tel point que le ministre eut les loisirs d'éditer un choix de ses compositions administratives, comme des modèles du genre (fin 537).⁴

Après qu'il se fut emparé de Rome, Bélisaire avait nommé comme préfet du prétoire, au début de 537, un ex-questeur du palais (527-8), Fidelis, l'un des chefs du parti national, auquel le pape Jean II s'était adressé trois ans auparavant.⁵ Cette nomination s'était faite avec

¹ *Inst.*, praef., col. 1105. Cf. J. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae*, II, 16; *Studia Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, v, 327, L. Duchesne, éd. *Liber Pont.*, I, 288, n. 81. Cette bibliothèque *ad clivum Scauri* existait encore du temps de Grégoire le Grand qui était un descendant d'Agapet et occupait la demeure paternelle. La *bibliotheca Romae*, dont Cassiodore envisage la possibilité qu'elle ait été pillée lors de la prise de la ville en 546 (*Inst.*, *Patrol lat.*, LXX, 1212), désigne sans doute la bibliothèque publique, et non point celle que le pape avait rassemblée chez lui, comme on le croit depuis L. Traube, *Vorlesungen*, I (1909), 208.

² Pour la chronologie de toute cette période, cf. la dissertation peu connue de O. Körbs, *Untersuchungen zur ostgotischen Gesch.* Eisenberg, 1913.

³ Cf. L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens* (2^e éd. Gotha: Perthes), I, 258-259.

⁴ Cf. Mommsen, p. xxx.

⁵ Cf. p. 251.

l'assentiment de l'empereur,¹ et Cassiodore déposa sans doute bientôt ses fonctions, comme on peut le conclure du fait que Witigès fit exécuter à Ravenne les sénateurs qu'il détenait comme otages (env. déc. 537).² Deux ans et demi plus tard (mai 540), le roi capitula devant Bélisaire et fut conduit à Constantinople avec sa suite et le trésor des Amales. Les Goths avaient vainement offert la couronne au général byzantin, que la méfiance de l'empereur rappelait en Orient. C'était la fin du gouvernement légitime italo-goth.

J'estime que c'est un peu auparavant que Cassiodore, résidant encore à Ravenne, composa à la demande de ses amis un traité sur l'âme, qui s'inspire surtout des œuvres de St Augustin et du *De statu animae* de Claudien Mamert. Cette composition suivit de si près l'édition des *Variae* que l'auteur la considère comme le XIII^e livre de son épistolaire. A la fin de son traité, le ministre fait allusion aux assauts que subissait le régime italo-goth: 'invidit [diabolus], prohdolor, tam magnis populis, cum duo essent.' Après le rétablissement de l'unité de l'empire à la suite de la capitulation de Witigès, cette phrase eût été malsonnante.³ Elle exprimait en tout cas les sentiments intimes et les regrets politiques de l'un des principaux partisans du dualisme italo-goth.

Après l'échec de ce régime, Cassiodore se retira sans doute sur ses propriétés en Calabre, et s'y abandonna à ses sentiments religieux qui s'étaient manifestés déjà à propos de son projet de fondation d'une université chrétienne à Rome et dans son traité *De anima*. Cette retraite de la vie politique, il l'appela plus tard, suivant le langage de l'époque, sa *conversio (a saeculo)*.⁴ Après les troubles qu'il

¹ Cf. *Cod. Just., Nov.*, 70, c. 1 et 73 *in fine* (an 538).

² Sundwall, *op. cit.*, 151, *ad v.* Reparatus, et p. 296.

³ Cf. par contre Mommsen, p. xxxi, ou Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, IV, 2 (1920), 101. L'imparfait *essent* est requis par le *cum* historique. — Cf. aussi *De anima* (*Patrol. lat.* LXIX), 1281 c: 'qualia fatigatus possim disserere qui iam ad laboris terminum avida mente properarem?' Ce traité ne figure pas dans la liste que Cassiodore dressa de ses travaux postérieurs à sa *conversio* (*De orthogr.*, préface), qu'il laisse commencer avec sa retraite de la vie politique (cf. n. suiv.).

⁴ *Com. in Psalm., praef.* (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 9): 'Repulsis aliquando in Ravennati urbe sollicitudinibus dignitatum et curis saecularibus noxio sapore conditis, cum Psalterii coelestis animarum mella gustassem, id quod solent desiderantes efficere, avidus me perscrutator imersi, ut dicta salutaria suaviter imberem post amarissimas actiones., *De orthogr., praef.*, éd. Keil, *Grammat. lat.*, VII, 144 (= *Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 1240 c): 'post commenta psalterii, ubi . . .

avait provoqués au cirque en 509, le patrice Théodore s'était semblablement retiré de la vie mondaine, et vers 520 était en relations épistolaires avec le promoteur du monachisme, St Fulgence, l'évêque de Ruspe, qui de son exil en Sardaigne entretenait une correspondance suivie avec certains membres de la haute noblesse romaine. Le patrice fit néanmoins partie de l'ambassade que le pape Jean conduisit à Constantinople en 525, après l'exécution de Boèce.¹

Durant sa retraite, Cassiodore se plongea dans l'étude des *Psaumes* et en donna un exposé très suivi qui emprunte la doctrine de St Augustin et d'autres auteurs, mais fait une large place à la science profane. S'il avait déjà fondé son monastère, il n'aurait pas manqué de s'adresser à ses moines dans une telle œuvre.² Les temps étaient troublés. Dès 542-543 l'usurpateur Totila avait étendu sa domination jusque dans le Bruttium et la Calabre, où étaient situés les domaines de Cassiodore. En automne 547, Bélisaire essaya vainement de s'installer dans ces provinces. Ayant pris Rome pour la deuxième fois (16 janvier 550), le roi goth occupa Tarente et passa même en Sicile (mai 550).³

Aussi, à cette date, nous trouvons Cassiodore à Constantinople,⁴ en même temps que son ami, le patrice Rufius Nicomachus Cethegus,⁵ et le pape Vigile. Durant le siège de Rome, le pontife (22 nov. 545)⁶

conversionis meae tempore primum studium laboris impendi.' *Inst.*, I, 4, (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 1115 B): 'Psalterium . . . qui nobis primus est in commentatorum labore.' Sur les sens différents de *conversio*, cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*, IV, 2, §1058 (*Jordanes*), p. 118 et *inf.* p. 257, n. 5.

¹ Cf. sa note biographique chez Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 262, n. 2.

³ Procop., *Bell. Goth.* III, 6, 5; 18, 11-19; 27, 12-28; 37, 19-23 et 39, 1-5. *Jordanes, Rom.*, 382. La prise de Rome ne tombe pas en 549; cf. Procop. *loc. cit.*, éd. Haury; Körbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 44. En décrivant le trajet que Bélisaire entreprit par mer de Sicile à Tarente, Procope mentionne au passage le pays de Squillace (III, 27, 17: Σκύλαιος χῶρος).

⁴ Cf. p. 255 n. 7;—On ne peut prouver que Cassiodore aurait quitté directement Ravenne pour Constantinople avec la suite de Witigès, comme le suppose F. Schneider, *Rom u. Romgedanke* (Munich, 1926), p. 90, ni qu'il y serait resté quinze ans (539-554), comme le veut J. B. Bury, *Hist. of the later Roman Empire* (2^e éd. London, 1923), II, 222, n. 1.—De 550 à 553, l'évêque de Squillace séjournait également à Constantinople dans l'entourage du pape (*Mansi, Conc.*, IX, 359 B: Syllacenum, Scillacenum, Squillacenum; 106 A: Scyllacene).

⁵ Cass. lui avait dédié naguère son *Ordo generis Cassiodorum*.

⁶ Procop., *B. Goth.*, III, 13, 12; *Léb. Pont.*, *Vigil.* Cf. Mgr. L. Duchesne, 'Vigile et Pélagé,' *Rev. des questions hist.*, XXXVI (1884), 382-383 et 397, et le bel article de G. Krüger sur Vigile, dans *Prot. RE.* de Herzog-Hauck, XX (3^e éd., 1908), 633-640.

et le chef du Sénat en avaient été éloignés par Bélisaire. Le général byzantin craignait sans doute qu'ils ne fussent capables de s'entendre avec les Goths pour mettre fin aux horreurs d'un siège et d'une guerre dans lesquels Totila semblait devoir triompher.¹

Dès avant la première prise de Rome (17 déc. 546), la Sicile était devenue le point de ralliement des émigrés qui à l'approche de Totila fuyèrent en masse à Constantinople.² Leur situation précaire, que seul une restauration pouvait rétablir, s'aggravait encore du fait que le roi essaya de trouver un appui dans les classes rurales, au détriment des propriétaires absents.³ Aussi, Totila ne put s'entendre ni avec le Sénat, ni avec l'empereur. A Constantinople, les chefs des émigrés, Libère et Cethegus (comme le pape Vigile, qui après un long séjour en Sicile était enfin arrivé dans la capitale le 27 janv. 547),⁴ insistèrent auprès de Justinien pour qu'il s'appliquât de toutes ses forces à la reconquête de l'Italie.⁵ Dans les questions religieuses, le pape adopta le point de vue de l'empereur. Par son *Iudicatum*, il condamna solennellement les *Trois Chapitres* (Pâques 548).⁶ Seulement, la position théologique de Justinien et l'attitude conciliante de Vigile soulevèrent le réprobation du clergé de l'Occident tout entier. L'Eglise africaine poussa l'opposition jusqu'à excommunier le pape. Dans son propre entourage, le pontife eut à subir la défection de son neveu, le très érudit diacre Rusticus (Noël 549). Des évêques, des sénateurs, entre autres Cethegus et Cassiodore, s'interposèrent pour ramener le rebelle. Vigile rappelle leurs démarches dans la lettre par laquelle il dépose son neveu et ses partisans de leurs dignités et fonctions (mi-550).⁷ La façon dont le pape y qualifie l'ex-

¹ Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 305, n. 4; 306, n. 1.

² Procop., *B. Goth.*, III, 26.

³ Cf. L. M. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, I, 297-298; Sundwall, p. 306-307.

⁴ O. Körbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 40, fixe son départ de Sicile en juillet 546.

⁵ Proc., *B. Goth.*, III, 35, 9, (juin 547-juin 549).

⁶ Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conciles*, III, 1 (1909), 21, déclare qu'on ignore les causes de ce premier changement d'opinion de Vigile. L'histoire ecclésiastique s'éclaire singulièrement, lorsqu'on la rapproche des événements politiques.

⁷ Jaffé, *Regesta Pontif. rom.* (2^e éd., Leipzig, 1885), n. 927; Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 357 D, (*Patrol. lat.*, LXIX, 49 AB): 'Sed quia semel et secundo adhortatione nostra per fratres nostros episcopos . . . nec non et per gloriosum virum patricium Cethegum et religiosum virum item filium nostrum Senatorem aliosque filios nostros commoniti noluitis audire. . .'

ministre (*religiosus vir*), vise sans doute sa *conversio (a saeculo)*. Une autre lettre pontificale attribue la même épithète (*vir inlustris Albinus religiosus*) au patrice Albinus, lorsqu'au début du règne de l'empereur Justin (519), il prenait une part active à la restauration de l'unité religieuse entre les deux parties du monde romain, rompue depuis quarante ans par le schisme de l'Hénotique.¹ On sait qu'en raison de ses relations avec Byzance ce sénateur fut accusé peu après de haute trahison et qu'en le défendant Boèce marcha lui-même au trépas. Enfin, Grégoire le Grand applique une fois le même qualificatif à un comte Narsès qui vivait à la Cour de Constantinople (590-597) en donnant l'exemple de toutes les vertus chrétiennes et avait organisé différents monastères.²

Cette intervention en faveur de Vigile raccommo­dé avec l'empereur prouve que l'ex-ministre tenait pour la reconquête byzantine. Depuis la capitulation de Witigès, le rétablissement de l'autorité impériale en Italie était tout à fait légitime. Sans conteste, la délégation de pouvoirs comme *magister militum* accordée par l'empereur à Théodoric et renouvelée pour ses descendants avait pris fin. Cette reconquête semblait indispensable, en raison de la politique agraire de Totila. En ce moment, elle revêtait d'ailleurs une forme qui s'accordait entièrement avec les conceptions du protagoniste du régime italo-goth. A l'annonce, en effet, de ses désastres en Italie³ l'empereur se fit conciliant. Il rendit au pape son *Iudicatum*, bien qu'en secret et en présence de l'évêque de Césarée, Théodore Askidas, le promoteur de la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*, et du patrice Cethegus, il lui fit prêter le serment de maintenir son point de vue. D'autre part, il promit de soutenir le pape et les privilèges de l'Eglise de Rome (15 août 550).⁴ En outre, pour se concilier les Italiens, ce fut Libère — l'ex-préfet du prétoire sous Odoacre et Théodoric, l'ancien préfet des Gaules (c. à d. de la Provence), qui depuis avait été préfet

¹ Jaffé, *loc. cit.*, n. 841; *Corpus Script. eccl. lat.* xxxv, 629, 75. Cf. la notice biographique que Sundwall lui consacre.

² Le cas a été signalé par J. Friedrich, 'Ueber die kontroversen Fragen im Leben des . . . Jordanes,' *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil. hist. Kl.* (München, 1907), p. 399-401; *Mon. Germ. Hist., Ep.*, I-II (Greg. M., *Registr.*), cf. *index person.* et I, 473, 17.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 254.

⁴ Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 363.

d'Égypte, — que l'empereur chargea de la reconquête en partant de la Sicile, la terre par excellence des *latifundia* sénatoriaux. Peu de temps après (mi-juin 550),¹ il désigna son cousin Germanus² comme généralissime de l'armée, qui, levée en Thrace, devait reconquérir l'Italie par la même voie que naguère Théodoric avait empruntée. Pour la circonstance, le prince impérial épousa en secondes noces la veuve de Witigès, Matasonthe, la petite-fille du grand roi Amale.³ Par cette union le successeur éventuel de Justinien comptait s'imposer au peuple Goth en Italie et mettre fin à l'usurpation de Totila.⁴

Nous ne savons si Cassiodore contribua à inspirer ce projet. Mais l'année suivante (551), un ancien secrétaire d'un prince goth, Jordanès, qui, comme Cassiodore, s'était retiré de la politique pour s'adonner à une vie édifiante,⁵ résuma, à la demande d'un de ses amis,

¹ D'après Körbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

² Il n'était pas son neveu, cf. Kallenberg, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1915, p. 991 a.

³ Procop. *B. Goth.*, III, 38, 24; 39, 6, 11-23; Jordanès, surtout *Rom.* 382. Cf. particulièrement J. Friedrich, *loc. cit.*, p. 416; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders* (2^e éd., Oxford, 1896), IV, 553-570; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE.*, v. *Germanos* (1912); Ch. Diehl, *Justinien* (Paris, 1901), p. 101; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (2^e éd., London, 1923); L. M. Hartmann, *Gesch. Italiens im Mittelalter* (2^e éd. Gotha, 1923), II, 316.

⁴ Procop., *loc. cit.*, assure que les Goths de Totila étaient très embarrassés à l'annonce de devoir combattre la petite-fille de Théodoric. Cf. F. Martroye, *Bull. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France.*, 1914, p. 237 ss. Il semble que les monnaies frappées à l'effigie de Matasonthe datent de cette époque, plutôt que du temps de son mariage avec Witigès. (Cf. Bury, *loc. cit.*, II, 254, n. 1). On a peut-être envisagé un régime transitoire, continuant le règne légitime de Théodoric et de Witigès et dans lequel, sous le gouvernement délégué du couple princier, l'Italie aurait conservé son autonomie. Cette hypothèse semble cependant peu vraisemblable.

⁵ *Get.* 266: 'ego item quamvis agramatus Jordanis ante conversionem meam notarius fui.' Invoquant l'exemple de Cassiodore qui fait usage du même terme *conversio* (*sup.* p. 253, n. 4) pour caractériser sa retraite, Mommsen (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, AA., v, 1, p. XIII) admettait que Jordanès devint moine. Mais il est reconnu que ce mot désigne souvent le passage à une vie plus dévote dans le monde. (cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*, IV, 2, 118.) J. Friedrich (*loc. cit.*, p. 393-402) dont je n'ai pris connaissance qu'après l'achèvement de cette étude, a rendu cette interprétation plus que vraisemblable. B. v. Simson (*Neues Archiv.*, XXII, 742-743) a signalé l'usage d'*agrammatus* dans les *Inst.* de Cassiodore; cf. Friedrich, p. 388. D'autre part, c'est sans fondement qu'une partie de la tradition manuscrite fait de Jordanès un évêque. Cf. A. Kappelmacher, *Wiener Studien*, XXXVI (1914), 181. Enfin, le *Vigilius*, auquel sont dédiés les *Romana*, n'est pas le pape de ce nom, — le ton de la préface écarte cette hypothèse (cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*) —, mais un noble d'un rang plus élevé que l'auteur, qui était d'origine barbare: *nobilissime et magnifice frater*. Ces qualificatifs ne laissent point de doute (cf. Friedrich, *loc. cit.*; p. 430 et 434). Seul un patriarche, comme Epiphane de Constantinople, pouvait s'adresser au pape comme à un collègue, cf. *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XXXV, 652, 13: 'sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino fratri et comministratori Hormisdæ Epiphanius.' Par contre St Avit de Vienne, en écrivant au même pape, s'exprime ainsi: 'filius vester sanctus frater meus Ennodius.'

l'*Historia gothica* de l'ex-ministre, dont l'intendant lui avait prêté l'ouvrage.¹ Germanus venait de décéder inopinément au moment d'entrer en campagne (sept. 550). Son beau-fils Jean, *magister militum* d'Illyrie, neveu du *magister militum* Vitalien qui sous l'empereur Anastase avait été le principal défenseur de l'orthodoxie romaine en Orient, ainsi que le fils de Germanus, Justinien, furent chargés par l'empereur de mener à bien la campagne d'Italie. Seulement, en prévision de l'hiver, ils se virent obligés de prendre leurs quartiers à Salone. L'empereur eut le temps de changer d'avis. En avril² 551, il désigna au commandement suprême son grand-chambellan, l'eunuque Narsès, âgé de 75 ans.³ Cette nomination accentua le caractère byzantin de la reconquête, et marqua une volte-face dans la politique de Justinien, qui peu après rompit aussi la trêve religieuse. Au lieu d'attendre les décisions que le prochain concile prendrait dans la question des *Trois Chapitres*, il condamna ceux-ci derechef par décret, et devant l'opposition du pape s'attaqua à lui de vive force.⁴ Cependant, durant cette année, diverses circonstances empêchèrent Narsès d'entrer en campagne. Il ne leva le camp de Salone qu'en avril 552. Ce changement de politique provoqua, sans doute, des tiraillements qui contribuèrent à ce retard. Dans ses *Getica*, com-

(*M. G. H.*, AA., vi, 2, 69, 21.) J'estime que l'usage de ce terme et le nom du destinataire ont été cause, que dès le ix^e siècle on fit de Jordanès un patriarche de Ravenne, parce que seul un tel dignitaire était en droit de s'adresser de la sorte à l'évêque de Rome.

En tout cas, ce n'est pas dans un cloître de Mœsie, comme le supposait Mommsen, qu'on pouvait être si *up to date* pour s'engouer avec cet à-propos de l'œuvre de Cassiodore, ni suffisamment informé pour la prolonger sur un quart de siècle (c. à d. jusque 540). L'illustre éditeur reconnaît d'ailleurs, p. x, que les faubourgs de Constantinople sont décrits d'après un témoin oculaire.

¹ *Jord. Get., praef.*, *M. G. H.*, AA., v, 54, 3: 'dispensatoris eius beneficio libros ipsos antehac relegi.'

² Selon Theoph. (p. 227, 17, éd. de Boor), écrivant d'après Malalas. *Proc.*, B.G., III, 40, 10 ss; iv, 21, 5; cf. Körbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 48 ss. et 80.

³ Il convient néanmoins de rappeler que Narsès était un ancien ami et compagnon d'armes du *mag. mil.* Jean. Cf. Bury *loc. cit.*, II, 196 et 256.

⁴ Cf. p. ex. L. Duchesne, 'Vigile et Pélage,' *Revue des Questions hist.*, xxxvi (1884), p. 409 ss., ou J. Langen, *Gesch. d. röm. Kirche v. Leo I bis Nik. I* (Bonn, 1885), I, 360 ss. En 552-3, Cethegus et une fois Libère servirent de médiateurs entre l'empereur et le pape. Cassiodore ne possédait sans doute pas l'autorité nécessaire pour faire partie de ces missions officielles. Mansi, *Conc.*, ix, 500, 197, 347. Cf. Langen, *loc. cit.*, p. 372, 377-378. En 558 Cethegus est signalé en Sicile, cf. Sundwall, p. 108.

posés en cette année 551,¹ Jordanès reflète les tendances du parti (italo-) pro-goth, qui jugeait la collaboration des barbares nécessaire à l'empire, et il reporte tous ses espoirs sur le successeur éventuel de Justinien, le jeune Germanus, le fils posthume du cousin de l'empereur et de la dernière descendante des Amales.²

Quand Narsès eut reconquis l'Italie, le pape se vit bien obligé de souscrire à la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*. Il avait opposé une résistance désespérée aux sommations de l'empereur aussi longtemps que celui-ci ne pouvait lui assurer son appui en Occident, où le clergé s'élevait contre cet anathème.³ Justinien récompensa le pontife de sa soumission en lui confiant la charte réglant la réorganisation de l'Italie, la Pragmatique Sanction de l'année 554.

Cassiodore put aussi mettre à profit son séjour dans la capitale pour se renseigner davantage sur l'institut théologique de Nisibe, en Syrie, qu'il rappelle au début de ses *Institutiones* et dont naguère il avait voulu créer la réplique à Rome, de concert avec le pape Agapet. Le questeur Junilius, qui avait succédé à Tribonien, s'étant entretenu de cette institution avec les évêques africains, ses compatriotes, venus en l'année 551 à Constantinople pour participer au concile réuni au sujet des *Trois Chapitres*, rédigea à l'intention de l'évêque Primase d'Hadrumète, en Byzacène, les notes qu'il possédait des cours d'un des professeurs de cette école supérieure de théologie.⁴ En rappelant dans la préface de ses *Institutiones* les écoles de théologie d'Alexandrie et de Nisibe, Cassiodore renvoie au traité de Junilius (*Instituta regularia divinae legis*) et ailleurs il cite le commentaire de

¹ Cependant il ignore ou feint d'ignorer la nomination de Narsès.

² Jord., *Get.*, 314: 'in quo (Germano) coniuncta Aniciorum genus cum Amala stirpe spem adhuc utriusque generi, domino praestante, promittit.' J. Friedrich, p. 418, me semble interpréter un peu trop étroitement cet 'espoir des deux peuples,' comme s'il n'eut comporté que la soumission des Goths. Il devait être aussi la garantie de leur avenir et symboliser l'union des deux nations. Cf. *supra* p. 253, les regrets de Cassiodore. *Domino praestante* est une autre de ses expressions favorites. Concernant la composition, vers cette époque, de l'*Anon. Valesianus*, cf. *Tamasia, Archivio Storico Ital.*, LXXI, 2 (1914), p. 2 ss., mais aussi R. Cessi, 'La Vita di P. Giov. I,' *Archivio Muratoriano*, II (fasc. 19-20, 1917), 474 ss.

³ Cf. Duchesne, *loc. cit.*, p. 422.

⁴ Cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*, IV, 2, §1237. — Sur cette institution, Cf. Th. Hermann, 'Die Schule v. Nisibis,' *Zeitschr. f. n.-testamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxv (1926), 89-122; R. Nelz, *Die theol. Schulen d. morgenländischen Kirchen während d. 7 ersten Jh.* (Bonn, 1916).

Primase sur l'*Apocalypse*.¹ Contrairement à ses compatriotes, le primat de Byzacène était à ce moment, comme l'empereur et le pape, partisan de la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*. Cassiodore fut sans doute en relations avec lui, comme avec le questeur du palais, et c'est vraisemblablement à Constantinople² qu'il mûrit le projet de réaliser en Occident, dans une fondation monastique, l'étude approfondie de l'Écriture.

A son retour il établit sur ses domaines un double monastère. Celui de Vivarium³ s'élevait sur le mont Moscius, au pied duquel s'étendaient les viviers que l'ex-gouverneur de la Lucanie et du Brutium y avait aménagés.⁴ Plus haut dans la montagne, sur le mont Castellum,⁵ il créa un ermitage destiné aux moines désireux de s'adonner à une vie purement contemplative. La fondation d'un monastère n'avait rien d'extraordinaire de la part d'un laïque à l'époque où les disciples de St Séverin s'établissaient (492-496) à Naples autour des cendres de leur maître, dans la villa du plus illustre des gourmets, le *Castellum Lucullanum*, qui avait servi de refuge au jeune Augustule, le dernier empereur d'Occident, déposé par Odoacre,⁶ tandis qu'en 526 St Benoît installait le berceau de son immense congrégation dans le palais de Néron sur le Haut-Anio.⁷ Nous savons que le patrice Libère, si souvent mentionné dans notre étude, parce qu'il fut le principal ministre du gouvernement italo-goth,⁸ avait également

¹ *Inst.*, I, 9, 1122 c.

² C'est aussi l'avis de Sundwall, p. 156.

³ Aujourd'hui bourg de Stalettì, à trois quarts d'heure de Squillace, ville de la Calabre comptant 4000 habitants, siège d'un évêché et située près du golfe de la mer Ionienne portant le même nom. — Sur la topographie et l'histoire ultérieure de ces fondations, voir Fr. Lenormant, *La Grande Grèce, Paysages et Histoire* (Paris, 1882), II, 329 ss., surtout pp. 360-369; Evans dans Th. Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (London, 1886), p. 68-72; G. Minasi, *Cassiodoro Senatore* (Napoli, 1895), p. 145 ss. G. Gissing, *By the Ionian Sea* (London, 1905 2d ed., 1921), p. 155 ss.

⁴ *Var.*, XII, 15; *Inst.*, I, 29.

⁵ *Inst.*, loc. cit.: Greg. Magn., *Ep.*, VIII, 30 et 32 [a. 598] (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Ep.*, II, 1). — Encore de nos jours l'une des deux collines qui domine Squillace au Sud, vers la mer, est appelée *Monte Castello*. C'est là que l'ermitage était établi entre les murs de la Squillace grecque abandonnée (*Inst.*, 1144c.: 'muris pristinis ambientibus').

⁶ L. Cantarelli, 'L'ultimo rifugio di Romolo Aug.' *Historia*, II (1928), p. 185-190.

⁷ Cf. G. Pfeilschifter, *Theod. d. Grosse* (Mainz, 1910), p. 126-127.

⁸ Cf. *supra* p. 251.

fondé (avant 534) un monastère à Alatri, en Campanie.¹ Par les soins de St Honorat, le patrice Venantius (le consul de 508?) avait établi une pareille fondation sur ses propriétés à Fondi (Samnium)² et le général Bélisaire lui-même avait fondé et doté un couvent aux abords d'Orta, sur la voie Flaminienne.³ Contrairement à l'opinion reçue, je serais pleinement convaincu que Cassiodore n'entra pas davantage ni dans l'une, ni dans l'autre de ses fondations, n'était-ce un texte obscur de son commentaire sur les *Psaumes*.⁴ Certes, dans

¹ Greg. Magn., *Dial.*, II, 35; *Ep.*, IX, 162 et 164. Sundwall, p. 136, fixe cette fondation avant 541; mais depuis la fin de 534 Libère séjourna en Orient, où il passa au service de l'empereur (*supra* p. 251). Je suppose que c'est pour le punir de cette trahison que Théodohad confisqua ses possessions en Italie. La Pragmatique Sanction de Justinien (554) lui attribua, en effet, la moitié de la fortune du sénateur Marcien, décadé, que le roi (534-535) avait également dépouillé de ses biens en faveur du descendant de l'empereur anicien, Pétrone Maxime (455), dont l'épouse appartenait à la lignée royale. (*Corp. iuris civ.*, App. VII, 1; cf. Sundwall, aux noms de ces personnages). Cf. maintenant J. Chapman, *St Benedict and the Sixth Century* (London, 1929), p. 138-9, 148.

² Cf. Sundwall, p. 167.

³ *Liber pontif.*, ed. L. Duchesne, t. I, p. 303. Cf. P. Battifol, *St Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1928), p. 28.

⁴ C'est la *conclusio* de son exposé du Psaume 100 (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 704 CD). On y lit: 'Pudet enim dicere, peccatis obnoxium centenarii numeri fecunditate provectum et quod sanctorum diximus meritis applicatum, indigno mihi fuisse collatum.' Ad. Franz, *Cass. Senator* (Breslau, 1872), p. 11-13, estime que 'quod sanctorum diximus meritis applicatum' vise la couronne réservée particulièrement aux martyrs et aux vierges. Le nombre 100 est leur symbole, dit Cassiodore, comme il est le coefficient de leurs mérites, car en pressant ce chiffre (C) avec la main droite, on obtient la figure de leur signe distinctif, la couronne. Ainsi l'ex-ministre aurait pris la tonsure, qui en Occident, au VI^e siècle, était déjà en usage sous forme de couronne. Cf. Ph. Gobillot, 'Sur la Tonsure chrétienne,' *Rev. d'Hist. ecclésiastique*, XXI (Louvain, 1925), 399-454. Mais *quod sanctorum meritis diximus applicatum* ne vise-t-il pas le *centenarium numerum*? Toute cette *conclusio* fait ressortir que le juste *merito hunc numerum obtinuisse videatur* (704 c 6; cf. 427 D: 'aut martyres aut virgines qui fructu centenario gloriantur'). Le sens alors du passage en litige serait, qu'il a été donné à l'auteur, si indigne qu'il fût, de commenter ces psaumes jusqu'au nombre de 100, qui est le coefficient que Dieu applique aux mérites des saints. (cf. la *conclusio* de la première partie [*in Ps.* 1-50] de ce commentaire, 372 CD). Mieux que par une incidente: 'Pudet enim dicere, peccatis obnoxium centenarii numeri fecunditate provectum, quem sanctorum meritis diximus applicatum, indigno mihi fuisse collatum,' Cassiodore n'a-t-il pas voulu marquer toutes les oppositions que cette phrase contient, par la construction antithétique *et quod*? Il serait assez singulier, que l'auteur se déclare indigne de porter la couronne monacale, qui est le symbole de la pénitence et de l'abstinence. — Dom J. Chapman, *Rev. bénédictine*, 1927, p. 30, croit, que dans le *codex grandior* Cassiodore s'est fait peindre en moine corrigeant l'Écriture devant l'armoire aux 9 volumes et qu'à Jar-row son portrait a été transformé en celui d'Esdras. Malgré les anachronismes (habit de moine, livres du N.T.), il se peut fort bien que l'ex-ministre ait fait représenter le célèbre correcteur hébreu, ou bien, simplement un moine quelconque de Vivarium, comme un symbole de l'activité, à laquelle il conviait ses émules.

cette œuvre il parle des délices de la vie monastique¹; mais il ne fait aucune allusion à son monastère.² En terminant son commentaire, l'auteur demande l'indulgence des maîtres compétents (1055 c): 'Vos autem, magistri, qui caelestium litterarum copiosa lectione pinguescitis, parcite rudi, dimitte confitenti, estote benevoli.' Apparemment, il n'avait pas encore réuni sa vaste bibliothèque de Vivarium, ni abordé ses travaux d'annotation d'auteurs sacrés.³ Le témoignage touchant que les *Institutiones* consacrent à la mémoire du canoniste et chronologiste bien connu, Denys le Petit, semble révéler que ce moine originaire de la Dobrogea passa ses dernières années à Vivarium, mais n'est point suffisant pour prouver que Cassiodore embrassa le même profession.⁴ Sinon, il serait assez piquant qu'immédiatement après avoir fait remarquer qu'il convient aux moines de garder leur couvent, le fondateur de Vivarium rappelle qu'il a annoté quelques exposés scripturaires 'quantum aut senex aut longa peregrin-

¹ *In Ps.*, praef., col. 10 no: 'Psalmi sunt denique qui nobis gratas faciunt esse vigiliis, quando silenti nocte psallentibus choris humana vox erumpit in musicam . . . , ut merito se a vera vita credat alienum quisquis huius muneris [scil. cantare psalmos] iucunditate non fruitur.' L'ex-ministre s'adonnant à la dévotion (*conversus*) et commentant les Psaumes pouvait fort bien goûter leur récitation par les moines, sans s'être fait moine lui-même. Quiconque est familiarisé avec la *lingua della blaga* de notre ex-ministre rhéteur, ne s'étonnera pas de cet enthousiasme. Le passage correspondant, 895 c: 'septem illas . . . vices quibus se monachorum pia devotio consolatur,' semble indiquer que Cassiodore ne se comptait point parmi les moines. —Attribuant à St Benoît l'initiative d'avoir ajouté les complies aux heures canoniques existantes, Dom J. Chapman, *St Benedict and the Sixth Century* (London, 1929), p. 97-103, montre que dans ce passage et *in Psalm.* 118, v. 164, 895 c, Cassiodore décrit la manière bénédictine de répartir les heures des offices. Mais si l'ex-ministre n'avait pas encore fondé son monastère, il faudrait admettre que cet usage était déjà fort répandu et conclure de ce fait qu'il est plus ancien que St Benoît.

² Les deux allusions qu'il y fait incidemment, sont d'insertion postérieure (cf. *inf.* p. 271). — L'exposé de chacun des 150 psaumes est suivi d'un *conclusio* qui invite le lecteur à méditer sur le sens profond du poème qui vient d'être commenté. Une fois nous trouvons l'apostrophe *carissimi fratres*, mais c'est à propos du langage inconsidéré, par lequel on pêche contre le prochain (*In Ps.* 140, 1004 b); une fois nous lisons *dilectissimi* (122 d), une fois *auditores egregii* (535 a). Evidemment il ne s'agit pas de moines de Vivarium.

³ Aussi, c'est par la suite que Cassiodore inséra dans son commentaire la plupart de ses renvois bibliographiques (cf. *infra* p. 272).

⁴ *Inst.*, I, 23, 1137 c: 'Qui mecum dialecticam legit et in exemplo gloriosi magisterii plurimos annos vitam suam . . . transegit. Pudet me de consorte dicere quod in me nequeo reperire. Fuit enim in illo cum sapientia magna simplicitas, cum doctrina humilitas, cum facundia loquendi parcitas, ut in nullo se vel extremis famulis anteferet, cum dignus esset regum sine dubitatione colloquiis. Interveniatur pro nobis qui nobiscum orare consueverat, ut cuius hic sumus oratione suffulti, eius possimus nunc meritis adiuvari.' Cf. *infra* p. 280, n. 4.

natione fatigatus relegere praevalui.¹ Cependant, après sa retraite Cassiodore renonça à mettre en tête de ses œuvres ses titres de patrice et d'illustrissime² et la mention de sa carrière des honneurs. L'unique manuscrit des *Complexiones*, le *Veronensis*, s. VII, copié sans doute sur l'original,³ nous donne la formule favorite de l'ex-ministre: 'Magni Aurelii Cassiodorii iam domino praestante conversi.'⁴ Nous avons suffisamment montré, que *conversus*, tout comme *religiosus (vir)*, se disaient de personnes vivant pieusement dans le monde. Cassiodore nous fait d'ailleurs connaître les abbés de son double monastère,⁵ et quand il s'adresse aux moines, il ne se compte point parmi eux⁶; quand il en parle, il les appelle *ses moines*, comme il dit *son monastère*.⁷

¹ *Inst.*, I, 25-26, 1140 AB.

² On aura remarqué que la lettre pontificale (*supra* p. 255 n. 7) les néglige pareillement.

³ Th. Stangl, *Wochenschrift f. klass. Philol.*, 1915, 203.

⁴ *Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1322 A; cf. *Sitzungsber. Wien*, XLIX, 48.—Des MSS de son *Com. in Ps.* et de l'*Hist. tripart.*, donnent: . . . 'exiguus servi Dei iam Domino praestante conversi.' Le *Vatic Pal.* 271, s. X, met cette inscription en tête de la 2^e partie de son commentaire (Ps. 51-100); le *Bruz.* 1229 (5460-1) s. X, en avant des Ps. 101-150. Par contre, le *Bruz.* 1230 (15070), s. X, (Ps. 1-50), écrit *Inc. liber Cassiodori viri religiosi*; le *Bruz.* 1228 (II, 2571), s. X, (Ps. 50-100): *Cass. viri eximii*. Les *Paris BN.* 12239-41 (*Corbie*), s. VIII, ne donnent point de titulature. Le *Vatic. Pal.* 824 (*Lorsch*), s. X, de l'*Hist. trip.*, a *Praefatio Cass. servi Dei* (cf. *Rhein. Mus.*, XXIII, 394, n. 5). La tradition manuscrite nous éclairera sur la valeur de la mention *exiguus servus Dei*; mais à côté d'elle, l'expression préférée de Cassiodore: *iam Domino praestante conversi*, semblerait bien superfétatoire. (Je rappellerai à ce propos qu'à l'exemple de l'ami de Cassiodore, Denys le Petit (*exiguus*), le diacre Ferrandus se qualifia d'une façon semblable (*exiguus*), si bien que la laque Cresconius de Carthage (*Patrol. lat.*, LXXXVIII, 829 C: *Christi famulorum exiguus*) cf. *infra* p. 282 n. 2). Il est reconnu qu'il faut mettre au compte du compilateur de l'*Anecd. Holderi* l'inscription *monachus servus Dei*, puisque Cass. composa son *Ordo generis* avant sa *conversio*. Paul Diacre écrivait déjà (*Hist. Lang.*, I, 25): 'Cassiodorus primitus consul, deinde senator (!), postremo monachus exstitit.' Les MSS des *Inst.* (tradition du *Bamb.*) et du *De orthogr.* donnent simplement *Cass. senatoris*. — Th. Stettner, *Philologus*, LXXVI (1926), 233-6, préfère avec raison l'orthographe *Cassiodorus à -rius*.

⁵ Certes, St Grégoire le Grand ne se trouvait no plus à la tête du monastère qu'il avait fondé dans sa demeure paternelle (cf. P. Battifol, *St Grégoire le Grand* [Paris, 1928] p. 27). mais le rôle du futur pape dans sa fondation fut autre que celui de l'ex-ministre.

⁶ *Inst.*, I, 32, 1147 AB et C: 'Facta est itaque vobis quaedam urbs propria, . . . in qua, si concorditer et spiritualiter transigitis, coelestis iam patriae praefiguratione gaudetis'; 29, 1143 D: ' . . . ita ut monasterium vestrum potius quaeratur ab aliis quam vos extranea loca iuste desiderare possitis.' *De orthogr.* (Keil, *Grammatici latini*, VII, 210, 3 = *Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1270 B 13): 'sicut ego vos ab imperitorum numero sequestratos esse volui, ita nos virtus divina non patiatur cum nequissimis poenali societate coniungi.'

⁷ P. ex., *ib.* p. 143, 2 et 145, 25 (*Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1239 C 3 et 1242 A 2): 'monachi mei; — auctores orthographos . . . quos ego . . . monasterio meo dereliqui.'

L'ex-ministre nous apprend aussi que c'est avec l'aide d'amis (*amicis ante me legentibus*) qu'il collationna toute l'Écriture d'après d'anciens manuscrits, mais qu'il laissa à ses copistes le soin de reviser les autres œuvres; car, même à la fin de sa vie, ses moines n'étaient pas encore très au courant de cette besogne.¹ Parmi ce groupe de familiers, qu'il qualifie sans doute ainsi par charité chrétienne, mais qui, en réalité, étaient des grammairiens et des traducteurs à son service, se distinguait tout d'abord le *vir disertissimus Epiphanius scholasticus*. Il traduisit l'exposé que Philon de Carpasie (et non point Epiphane de Chypre, comme le veut Cassiodore) avait donné en un livre du *Cantique des Cantiques*,² les commentaires de Didyme sur les *Proverbes* et ceux sur les sept épîtres canoniques que Cassiodore attribue au même auteur, mais qui formaient un florilège d'homélie de différents Pères³; le *codex encyclius* contenant les lettres que les évêques consultés par l'empereur Léon avaient écrites en faveur du concile de Chalcédoine⁴; enfin la triple *Histoire ecclésiastique* de Socrate, de Sozomène et de Théodoret, compilée de façon à former un ensemble continuant l'œuvre d'Eusèbe, que Rufin avait traduite et poussée jusqu'à Théodose.⁵ Cette tripartite en 12 livres s'inspire de l'œuvre similaire que, postérieurement au règne de l'em-

¹ *Inst.*, praef., 1109 bc: 'Quos ego cunctos novem codices auctoritatis divinae, ut senex potui, sub collatione priscorum codicum, amicis ante me legentibus, sedula lectione transivi; ubi me multum laborasse, Deo adiuvante, profiteor . . . reliquos vero codices qui non sunt tali distinctione signati (c. à d. non pourvus de ponctuation, cf. *infra* p. 266) notariis diligenti tamen cura sollicitis, relegendos atque emendandos reliqui.' *De orthogr.*, praef., p. 143, 2 (1239 c 3): ' . . . monachi mei subito clamare coeperunt: quid prodest cognoscere nos vel quae antiqui fecerunt vel ea quae sagacitas vestra addenda curavit nosse diligenter, si quemadmodum ea scribere debeamus omnimodis ignoramus.'

² *Inst.*, 1117 a: 'per amicum nostrum virum disertissimum Ep. fecimus . . . transferri.' Traduction éditée en 1750 par P. Fr. Foggini d'après le *Vatic. 5704*. Le texte grec édité est moins développé; n'est-il qu'un extrait, ou bien le traducteur a-t-il amplifié le traité? Cf. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.*, III, (Freib. in Br., 1912), 303 et *Rev. bénédictine*, 1926, p. 143, n. 1; 1927, p. 262 et 1928 p. 130.

³ 1116 a: ' . . . ab amico nostro viro disertissimo Ep. . . translatus est; 1120 b. Cette dernière traduction est seule conservée. (Migne, *Patrol. graeca*, xxxix, 1749-1818. Cf. Bardenhewer, *loc. cit.*, p. 108-9.

⁴ 1123 cd: ' . . . a viro disertissimo Ep. fecimus . . . converti; cf. Maasen, *Gesch. u. Quellen d. kanon. Rechts*, I, 751-753. — Trad. perdue.'

⁵ *Patrol. lat.* LXIX, 880 d: 'quos [scil. scriptores] nos per Epiphanius scholasticum latino condentes eloquio, necessarium duximus eorum dicta deflorata in unius styli tractum . . . perducere . . .' *Inst.* 1133 d: 'quos a viro disertissimo Ep. . . fecimus . . . transferri.'

pereur Justin (518-527), Théodore, lecteur de l'église Ste Sophie, composa apparemment en exil à Gangres. Jusqu'au chapitre 3 du livre II, elle n'en est même qu'une traduction littérale. De composition plus indépendante par la suite, elle remanie souvent les textes qu'elle compile et on a pu dire qu'il faudrait une monographie pour décrire les variétés de contresens qu'elle commet.¹ Un autre traducteur, le *vir disertissimus Mutianus*, mit en latin les 34 homélies de St Jean Chrysostome sur l'*Épître aux Hébreux*,² aussi bien que le traité de Gaudentius sur la musique.³ La diversité des œuvres qu'il traduisit prouve qu'il travailla sur commande d'après les nécessités de la bibliothèque.

Le prêtre Bellator, sans doute l'aumonier de Vivarium,⁴ donna un ensemble important de commentaires sur *Ruth*, *Sap.*, *Tob.*, *Esth.*, *Judith*, *Macch.*, et traduisit les homélies d'Origène sur *Esdras*.⁵ Cassiodore n'indique pas que lui mit en latin les commentaires de Clément d'Alexandrie, mais convenablement purgés, sur les *Épîtres canoniques*.⁶ Sans préciser davantage, il met au compte 'de ses amis'

¹ Bidez, 'La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur,' *Texte u. Unters.* de A. Harnack, xxxii, 2b (1908), p. 35 ss. — Cf. une série d'erreurs relevées par Ad. Franz, *Cass. Sen.* (Breslau, 1872), p. 114 ss.

² *Inst.*, 1120 A: . . . 'Mutianum virum disertissimum transferre fecimus in latinum.' Migne, *Patrol. graeca*, lxxiii, 237-456; Cf. E. A. Lowe, 'An Uncial MS. of Mut.', *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, xxix (1927-28), 129-133. — C'est bien à tort que G. Krüger (dans Schanz., iv, 2, p. 581, n. 1), comme déjà Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.*, ad. a. 562, n. xix, veut identifier ce traducteur de Cassiodore avec le *Mocianus Scholasticus*, contre lequel Facundus d'Hermiane écrivit un traité en 571, pour combattre l'entente avec Rome et rejeter la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*. Cf. *inf.* p. 273 n. 2, l'appréciation de Cassiodore sur Facundus et *Patrol. lat.*, lxxvii, 867-868, 875, le portrait peu flatteur de Mocianus.

³ *Inst.*, 1208 D: ' . . . quam amicus noster vir disertissimus Mutianus transtulit in latinum;' cf. *inf.* p. 288, n. 1; trad. perdue.

⁴ Cf. U. Berlière, *Rev. bénédictine*, 1927, p. 228.

⁵ *Inst.*, 1112 B: 'Novellas autem [explanations in *Ruth*] virum religiosissimum presbyterum Bellatorem condere persuasi . . . duobus libris; 1117 B: 'Cuius (*Sap.*) voluminis expositionem presbyter Bell. octo libris se assumpsisse testatus est, quem cum aliis opusculis eius pariter sustinemus; 1118 C: *Tobiae* autem in libris quinque, *Esther* in libris sex, *Judith* in libris septem et *Macchabeorum* in libris decem expositio latinum sermonem praedicti Bellatoris presbyter, ut praevalet, labore collecta est . . . In *Esdrae* vero libris duobus graeco sermone singulas homilias expositas, Origenis inveni, quae eiusdem religiosi viri Bell. labore translatae sunt.' — On aura déjà remarqué que Cassiodore n'imposa pas ces commentaires à Bellator, comme les traductions à ses amis.

⁶ *Inst.*, 1120 A: ' . . . quae nos ita transferri fecimus in latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis . . . ' Cf. *Patrol. Graeca*, ix, 729-39; cf. G. Morin, *Rev. bénéd.*, xxxi (1914), 242, No. 2.

la traduction des *Antiquités juives* de Fl. Josèphe.¹ Cette vaste entreprise fut, sans doute, une œuvre collective. Les cinquante-cinq homélies de St Jean Chrysostome sur les *Actes des Apôtres* remplissant deux manuscrits, auront bien été traduites de la même façon.²

J'ai déjà rappelé que Cassiodore réunit un texte de l'Écriture qu'il répartit sur neuf volumes³ entièrement revisés par lui.⁴ Il semble que nous l'ayons conservé dans le meilleur manuscrit de la Vulgate, le *codex Amiatinus*.⁵ Ce manuscrit fut exécuté à Jarrow, peut-être sous la direction de Bède.⁶ L'abbé Ceolfrid le destinait au pape, mais il mourut au cours de son voyage à Rome (716). Au xvi^e siècle cette Bible de 1030 folios fut retrouvée à l'abbaye de Monte Amiata, dans le sud de la Toscane, d'où elle passa à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne.

¹ *Inst.*, 1133 c: 'Hunc tamen ab amicis nostris . . . magno labore in libris viginti duobus converti fecimus in latinum,' c. à d. les 20 livres des *Antiq.* (dont on possède environ deux cents MSS) suivis des 2 livres *Contra Apionem*. Ceux-ci ont été édités par Boyson, *Corpus Script. eccl. lat.*, xxxvii (1898) qui prouve, p. xii, que le traducteur n'était pas à la hauteur de sa tâche.

² *Inst.*, 1122, a: '. . . quae amici nostri in duobus codicibus . . . transtulerunt.' Trad. perdue; cf. Chr. Baur, *St Jean Chrys.* (Louvain, 1907), p. 66. — Cf. d'une façon générale, *Inst.*, 1122 c: '. . . expositores, quantos vel invenire priscos potuimus vel nuper per amicos nostros de graeca linqua tranferri vel nova cudi fecimus.'

³ En tête de son *codex grandior*, Cassiodore avait fait dépeindre l'armoire aux neuf volumes, devant laquelle est assis le prophète Esdras, (cf. *supra* p. 261 n. 4) corrigeant les Livres saints. En 678, Ceolfrid, l'abbé de Jarrow, acquit ce MS. à Rome et en fit reproduire le premier quaternion en avant de l'*Amiatinus*. Le dessin en question est donné d'après R. Garrucci, *Storia del Arte Christ.*, III (Prato, 1876), tav. 126 (?), par G. Pfeilschifter, *Theodorich d. Grosse* (Mainz, 1910), p. 126, et d'après J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (Cambridge, 1901), (en tête du volume), par A. Hessel, *Gesch. d. Biblioth.* (Göttingen, 1925), Abbild. 2.

⁴ Dom J. Chapman, *loc. n. seq. cit.*, 1927, p. 12, a tort de croire que les neuf volumes comportaient exclusivement le texte de l'Écriture. Cassiodore déclare expressément (1130 c) qu'il a fait suivre le *Livre des Rois* d'homélies de différents auteurs, parce qu'il n'a pas trouvé d'exposé suivi sur cette partie de la Bible (*Inst.*, I, 2); et il engage ses moines à en faire autant. Aussi, c'est vraisemblablement dans celui des 9 volumes comprenant les *Prophètes* qu'il a apposé les notes marginales qu'il avait tirées d'*annotationes* de St Jérôme (*Inst.*, I, 3, 1114 a: in adnotato nuper codice). Cf. encore *inf.* p. 270 n. 1.

⁵ C'est l'avis de Dom-Abbé J. Chapman, 'The Amiatinus and Cass.', *Revue bénédictine*, 1926, p. 139-150; 1927, p. 12-32; 1928, p. 130-134. Dom H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur la Vulgate*, I (Rome-Paris, 1922), 438-450, 496-497, et Dom D. De Bruyne, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1928, p. 261-266, estiment que ce MS. dépend du *codex grandior* de Cassiodore. Dans ses *Essais de critique textuelle* (Paris, 1926), p. 16, Dom Quentin fait néanmoins allusion à une révision de la Vulgate par Cassiodore. — Cf. aussi Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 15 et 32, qui envisage la possibilité, que l'*Amiat.* dépende des *Pandectes*, la bible hieronymienne de Cassiodore. H. Glunz, *Britannien u. Bibeltext* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 94-95, parle des Bibles de Vivarium avec fort peu de précision.

⁶ J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early Hist. of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), p. 23.

Elle est entièrement écrite *per cola et commata*.¹ On admet généralement,² que c'est Cassiodore qui aurait étendu à toute la Vulgate cette disposition dont St Jérôme avait déjà fait usage. Je crois que les témoignages de notre auteur³ prouvent précisément le contraire. Cassiodore ne goûtait nullement cette disposition du texte sacré. Son programme consistait à se servir de la science profane dans l'étude de l'Écriture. Comme il s'est évertué à apprendre à ses moines les règles de l'orthographe! Et chaque fois qu'il les leur inculque, il ne manque pas d'insister sur la nécessité d'observer la ponctuation. En leur adressant un dernier adieu dans son *De orthographia*, qu'il composa à l'âge de 93 ans, il leur demande d'être reconnaissants pour les deux choses essentielles qu'il leur a apprises: l'orthographe et l'art de ponctuer!⁴ Apparemment, ce sont des éditions *per cola et commata* de la traduction de St Jérôme,⁵ ou supposées telles,⁶ qui ont amené Cassiodore à généraliser certaines expressions du reclus de Bethléem concernant cette façon dont il édita quelques unes de ses traductions. Le seigneur de Squillace se défend d'être assez présomptueux pour vouloir modifier la disposition adoptée par le Maître, mais il lui suppose l'intention de n'avoir publié ainsi ses versions que pour en faciliter la lecture aux moines qui n'étaient pas familiarisés avec la ponctuation des grammairiens.⁷ Il se prévaut précisément de ce prétendu aveu de la supériorité de la ponctuation pour ordonner de s'en servir dans toutes les parties de l'Écriture que Jérôme n'a

¹ c. à d. 'en lignes inégales, dont la longueur se réglait sur le sens.' S. Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893), p. 316.

² Cf. encore Dom De Bruyne, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1929, p. 102-103.

³ On peut les lire chez Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 20.

⁴ Keil, *Gramm. lat.*, VII, 145, 18 et 249, 28 (*Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1242 et 1270 B); *Inst.*, 1128-1130, 1109 BD.

⁵ 1109 c: *sicut hodie legitur*. A eux seuls, ces mots prouvent déjà que ce n'est point Cassiodore qui étendit à toute l'Écriture la disposition commatique. Puisqu'il en restreint autant que possible l'usage, en ne l'acceptant que pour la traduction de St Jérôme, on ne pourrait supposer qu'il ait allégué des éditions imaginaires pour justifier un procédé qu'il ne tolérerait qu'à contre-cœur. On fait mieux de reconnaître que nous ignorons beaucoup des éditions de l'Écriture au VI^e siècle.

⁶ Dom D. De Bruyne, *Rev. biblique*, 1915, p. 358 ss., semble avoir prouvé que du N.T., St Jérôme ne revisa que les Évangiles.

⁷ Dans la préface à sa traduction d'Isaïe, visée par Cassiodore (cf. *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 20-21), le Grand docteur dit simplement *utilitati legentium*, et il invoque, au contraire, l'exemple d'éditions des œuvres de Démosthènes et de Cicéron, qui auraient adopté cette disposition.

point traduites.¹ Il déclare d'ailleurs que lui-même a ponctué celui des neuf volumes comprenant les *Psaumes*, dont la copie était donc disposée seulement par versets.² On sait que de toutes les parties de l'Écriture, le Psautier resta le plus longtemps en usage dans l'ancien texte. C'est sur celui-ci que Cassiodore rédigea son commentaire.³ Mais il utilisa aussi le texte de l'*Itala* pour ses *Complexiones*, qui s'étendent sur tout le *Nouveau Testament*, sauf les *Évangiles*.⁴ Aussi,

¹ *Inst.*, I, 15, 1129 D prouve qu'*Inst.*, *praef.*, 1109, c: *ut cetera distinctionibus ornentur*, ne vise pas des œuvres distinctes de la Bible, mais tous les textes (et plus particulièrement ceux de l'Écriture, dont il est avant tout question ici), sauf la *Translatio S. Hieronymi*. De même les *Reliquos vero codices* (qui s'opposent à *cunctos novem codices auctoritatis divinae*). Comprendent tous les manuscrits de Vivarium, les neuf volumes mis à part. Nouvelle preuve que ceux-ci étaient ponctués, exception faite, de la *Translatio S. Hieronymi*, s'ils la présentaient. Plus spécialement *codicum antiquorum* (1109 c 15) désigne les MSS contenant des œuvres profanes; cf. 1142 A 12, *De orthogr.*, p. 143, 8 (1239 c 12): *labor antiquorum*: cf. *inf.*, p. 00 n. 0. Dom Chapman, *loc. cit.*, 1928, p. 133, reconnaît aussi, que Cassiodore n'admettait la disposition commatique que pour le texte de la Vulgate, disons plutôt avec notre auteur: de la *translatio S. Hieronymi*.

On ne peut invoquer ce texte de la préface des *Inst.* pour établir que les 9 volumes donnaient (du moins en partie) le texte de la Vulgate; car, il se pourrait que Cassiodore ne cite l'avis de St Jérôme sur la façon de copier le texte sacré, que pour en tirer un argument en faveur de la ponctuation. On pourrait même prétendre que si ce texte voulait signifier avant tout que l'illustre Docteur disposa sa traduction *per cola*, Cassiodore n'aurait pas dû reprendre cette information quand il décrit ses *Pandectes* (1124 b.c), une bible présentant la traduction hiéronymienne. Cette remarque réitérée prouve, en tout cas, que la disposition commatique constituait une exception dans les bibles de Vivarium.

Le fait, que Cassiodore recommande à ses moines de corriger éventuellement le texte de l'Écriture d'après la version ou la révision de St Jérôme (1129 b), — comme il l'avait utilisée parfois dans son commentaire sur les Psaumes (cf. Ad. Franz, *Cass. Senator* [Breslau, 1872], p. 62, n. 5) et dans ses *Complexiones* (Dom Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1911, p. 287), — établit qu'à Vivarium on faisait usage de l'ancienne version, d'autant plus, que le même passage engage les moines à ponctuer le texte. D'autre part, il est remarquable que c'est précisément en tête du *codex grandior*, donnant une traduction latine des Septante, que Cassiodore plaça les trois listes de l'Écriture et les dessins, y compris celui d'Esdras avec l'armoire aux neuf volumes. Pourquoi ce serait-il tellement intéressé à ce MS. si son texte était abandonné? On en avait d'ailleurs encore d'autres copies à Vivarium (1125 c 8: *inter alias*). Si la remarque 'Hic textus . . . Hieronymi . . . cura emendatus relictus est' (1125 d) possédait plus qu'une teneur générale d'information signifiant que le Grand traducteur a révisé ce texte, elle prouverait que Cassiodore croyait qu'il était en possession du texte révisé des LXX, qui n'existait vraisemblablement plus (ainsi que me l'écrivit Dom Chapman). Dans ce cas nous aurions la meilleure preuve que Cassiodore ne disposait pas *per cola* la révision de St Jérôme (puisque le *codex grandior* était ponctué) et que pour sa version il ne suivait que l'exemple d'éditeurs qu'il avait sous la main.

² 1130 A: 'Has distinctiones *Bomb.* [Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.* 1927, p. 141, n. 1, fait erreur]; dictiones (Garet) in Psalterio archetypo (cf. 1115 d-1116 A) nos possuisse retinemus.'

³ Garet y a substitué le texte vulgate, cf. *Patrol. lat.*, LXIX, 431 c.

⁴ Cf. Th. Stangl, *Blaetter f. bayer. Gymnas.*, xxxiv (1898), p. 250 et Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1911, p. 287-288. A. Souter, *infra* p. 270, n. 3, *cit.*, IX, 1, p. 323, croit cependant, qu'au cours de

il est hors de doute que le *codex grandior* de Vivarium présentant l'*antiqua translatio* n'était pas disposé *per cola et commata*. Quant aux neuf volumes, s'ils réunissaient le texte de la Vulgate, ils n'offraient la disposition commatique que dans les parties qui avaient été traduites, et peut-être même point dans celles qui avaient été revisées (soit prétendument) par St Jérôme.¹ Je crois que c'est à Jarrow que la disposition commatique a été étendue à toutes les parties de l'*Amiatinus* — et notamment aux *Psaumes* —, sans doute, parce qu'on y a mal interprété les textes des *Inst.* à ce sujet.² En tout cas, il résulte de cet examen que sur ce point Cassiodore n'a pas manqué à son attachement pour les méthodes des arts libéraux.

Par ailleurs, il divisa en chapitres qu'il pourvut de titres les livres de l'Écriture, qui, comme les *Paralipomènes* ou les œuvres attribuées à Salomon, n'en étaient pas encore pourvus, du moins dans l'édition qu'il utilisait. Comme on avait coutume de faire pour les œuvres profanes, il plaça en tête des différents livres de la Bible la liste des sommaires de leurs chapitres. Dans ses *Inst.*, il ne mentionne le fait que pour l'*Octateuque*; mais plus tard, il réunit tous les sommaires en un livre (*liber titulorum sive memorialis*), de façon à présenter ainsi un aperçu de l'Écriture.³ Ce n'est pas un travail bien différent que Cassiodore entreprit dans ses *Complexiones*. Seulement, cette œuvre, que nous n'avons conservée que dans un seul manuscrit datant du VII^e siècle, s'attache à marquer plutôt la suite du développement des *Épîtres*, des *Actes*, et de l'*Apocalypse*.⁴

Après ses commentaires sur les *Psaumes*, Cassiodore n'aborda plus un exposé d'une semblable envergure. Mais peu de temps avant qu'il

sa revision du commentaire de Pélagie sur l'*ep. ad Rom.*, Cassiodore substitua la version vulgate au texte pélagien de l'Écriture.

¹ On ne saurait admettre que *ut cetera distinctionibus orrentur* ne vise que les *Psaumes*. Cassiodore distingue d'ailleurs nettement la *translatio* de la revision de St Jérôme: 1129 BD (cf. 1130 A 10), 1124 AC, cf. *Huic adiecti sunt* et 1225 CD, cf. *Cui subiecti sunt*. On ne doit pas s'étonner, que les *Psaumes* mis à part, Cassiodore ne se soit pas astreint à ponctuer lui-même toutes les parties que Jérôme n'a point traduites. Peut-être aussi, s'est-il contenté de citer en exemple le texte des *Psaumes*.

² Dom Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 32, semble avoir montré qu'à Jarrow on a eu connaissance des *Inst.*, contrairement à l'avis de P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXIV (1916), 358.

³ *Inst.*, 1114 A, 1117 D, 1112 C; cf. Dom Chapman, *loc. cit.*, 1927, p. 15 ss.; Dom De Bruyne, *ibid.*, 1927, p. 203 ss. *De orthogr., praef.*, v.

⁴ Cf. *Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1319, la distinction de *complexiones et breves*.

composa ses *Inst.*, il avait pourvu une copie des *Prophètes* de notes marginales tirées d'un bref exposé (*annotationes*) qu'il attribue à St Jérôme.¹ De plus, pour l'*Épître aux Romains*, il purgea de leurs erreurs pélagiennes les *annotationes* d'un auteur, dont il ignore l'identité, mais qui n'est autre que Pélage lui-même. Sa revision remania complètement l'exposé, en retournant aux expressions d'Augustin, dont elle utilise abondamment les écrits, à côté de ceux de St Jérôme et même du *De statu animae* de Claudien Mamert.² Comme il les y avait engagés, ses moines — mais tout au plus trois — corrigèrent les autres *Épîtres* de St Paul, sans toutefois y introduire des considérations propres.³ Cette activité lui faisait dire dans ses *Inst.*, que de toutes les parties de l'Écriture, il s'était le plus spécialement occupé des *Psaumes*, des *Prophètes*, et des *Épîtres*.⁴ Cependant, il avait semblablement démarqué du signe ἀχρηστον les passages des œuvres d'Origène qui ne lui semblaient pas conformes à la doctrine des Pères, et il avait signifié de la même façon les opinions condamnables dans le commentaire du donatiste Tychonius sur l'Apocalypse. Pareillement, dans la traduction qu'il avait fait exécuter de l'exposé de Clément d'Alexandrie sur les *Épîtres* canoniques, il avait élagué les passages sujets à caution.⁵ D'autre part, il avait parcouru un certain nombre de traités des Pères, désignant par un signe au crayon rouge ceux de ses neuf volumes de l'Écriture auxquels appartenaient les

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 266, n. 4. — Je ne crois pas que 1115 B: 'ex quibus iam duas decadas collegi,' vise de semblables notes marginales sur 20 Psaumes, tirées des commentaires partiels de St Hilaire de Poitiers, de St Ambroise et de St Jérôme. Cassiodore déclare simplement, qu'il a déjà réuni une vingtaine d'exposés de ces Pères sur les *Psaumes*. Certes, il divisait les *Psaumes* par décades (cf. 9 B, 504 B, 505 C); mais en raison de la tradition fragmentaire de ces exposés qui ne s'étendaient que sur quelques Psaumes (cf. Schanz, IV, p. 282, 335 et 385), on peut admettre que Cassiodore entend 'décades' dans le sens vulgaire, c. à d. deux dizaines d'exposés sur différents Psaumes. En tout cas, il ne s'agit pas d'extraits tirés du commentaire de St Augustin, comme le croient encore J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), p. 34, n. 1 et P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 285. Qu'on veuille remarquer à ce propos l'opposition *ex quibus . . . a quo* (cf. 9 A 12).

² Nous avons remarqué que Cassiodore avait déjà utilisé cette œuvre dans son *De anima*. Le compatriote de Sidoine Apollinaire semble avoir été l'un de ses auteurs favoris.

³ *Inst.*, 1119 CD; *De orthogr., praef.*, v. — A. Souter 'Pelagius' Exposition on the Thirteenth Ep. of St Paul, *Texts and Studies* ed. by Armitage Robinson, IX, 1-2 (Oxford, 1922-26), surtout IX, 1, p. 318 ss.

⁴ *Inst.*, 1109 B.

⁵ 1112 B, 1122 B, 1120 A.

textes que ces œuvres expliquaient.¹ De même, à la façon des correcteurs anciens (*more maiorum*), il avait mis dans la marge de son commentaire sur les *Psaumes*, des signes qui mettaient en évidence les définitions, les locutions propres à l'Écriture, les matières appartenant aux différents arts libéraux, etc.²

Les *Institutiones*³ qui décrivent cette œuvre variée et étendue⁴ sont postérieures à 551, puisque dans l'introduction elles mentionnent le traité de Junilius composé en cette année.⁵ On admet généralement que Cassiodore fonda son monastère vers 540, parce qu'il déclare que son commentaire sur les *Psaumes* fut sa première œuvre après sa *conversio*.⁶ Seulement, nous avons rappelé que ce terme comporte des significations très diverses.⁷ De plus, dans ce commentaire l'auteur ne fait aucune allusion à ses moines. Certes, on lit dans la préface qu'il a fait exécuter aussi une copie de son commentaire en le répartissant sur trois manuscrits présentant chacun l'exposé de cinquante psaumes,⁸ afin de mettre à la disposition de ses moines

¹ *Inst.*, I, 25, 1140 B.

² Éd. Reifferscheid, *Sitzungsber. Wien*, LVI (1867), 507, qui fait fort bien remarquer, cependant, *Rhein Mus.*, XXIII, (1868), 133, que les notes de Cassiodore se distinguent des signes critiques des grammairiens (cf. Reifferscheid, *Suetonii reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1860), p. 139 ss.; Keil, *Gram. lat.*, VII, 533) en ce qu'elles portent sur le fonds, la matière, le contenu, et ne servent point à corriger le texte. A l'époque de Sédulius Scotus les Irlandais ont fait un semblable usage de ces signes. Cf. H. Hagen, dans les *Verhandlungen d. 39. Versammlung deutscher Philol. u. Schulmänner zu Zürich*, 1888, p. 247 et son éd. du Bern. 363 (*Codices . . . photographice editi*, II (Leyde, 1897), p. XXIX. Sur ce MS. cf. Traube, *Abhandl. d. bayer. Akad.*, XIX, 2 (1892), 346.

³ Sur ce titre, cf. *De orthogr.*, p. 145, 18, éd. Keil, *Gram. lat.*, VII (= 1241 D 9); cf. Perschinka, *Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymn.*, 1906, p. 317.

⁴ Seuls le *Liber titularum* et les *Complexiones* n'étaient pas encore composés. Ils figurent en dernier lieu dans la liste que Cassiodore composa de ses écrits postérieurs à sa *conversio*, en tête de son édition du *De orthographia*. L'ordre chronologique de cette liste, que P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 283, a mis en doute, n'est en défaut que pour la mention des *Inst.* Vraisemblablement, en raison de leur importance et parce qu'elles résument presque toute l'œuvre accomplie entre son commentaire sur les *Psaumes* et sa révision du commentaire de Pélagé sur l'*ép. ad Rom.*, Cassiodore les a placées entre ces deux travaux, quoique, strictement parlant, elles devraient faire suite à la mention de cette œuvre expurgée (Cf. *Inst.*, I, 8, 1119 CD). Quant au n. IV et VII de cette liste, je m'en occuperai plus loin.

⁵ Comme P. Lehmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 290, l'a signalé. Mais le *terminus ante quem* (562) qu'il propose, est extrêmement sujet à caution, comme je le montrerai *inf.* p. 289.

⁶ Cf. *supra* p. 253, n. 4.

⁷ Cf. *supra* p. 253.

⁸ *Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 9 CD. — Nos MSS aussi copient de cette façon le volumineux commentaire.

(*legentium fratrum*) un plus grand nombre d'exemplaires d'une écriture plus lisible.¹ Mais le contexte révèle que cet avertissement constitue certainement une ajoute postérieure. A d'autres endroits encore l'auteur a inscrit dans la marge des notes bibliographiques, postérieurement, paraît-il, à la composition de ses *Instit.* Car celles-ci semblent être citées dans la préface de son commentaire.² Cette pratique est tout à fait conforme au programme et aux procédés les plus usuels de Cassiodore: fournir à ses moines la bibliographie et les moyens d'approfondir par eux-mêmes l'étude de l'Écriture.³ Dans son exposé du *Ps. xiv*, il renvoie à la description du Tabernacle que Flavius Josèphe donne dans ses *Antiq. iudaic.* et il mentionne le dessin qu'il en avait fait exécuter en tête de son *corpus grandior* de l'ancienne traduction latine de l'Écriture.⁴ Evidemment, cette référence suppose aussi que Cassiodore avait déjà fait traduire cette œuvre étendue de l'historien des Juifs.⁵ Au cours de son exposé, il la cite encore une fois (956 BC). Au premier abord, ce second renvoi semble moins visiblement interpolé. Mais il mentionne en même temps une lettre de St Jérôme, dont l'ex-ministre ne paraît avoir dépouillé l'épistolaire que tardivement.⁶

Pareillement, on s'aperçoit à une simple lecture que la mention de l'*Introduction* de Tychonius à l'étude de l'Écriture a également été reprise de la marge dans le texte.⁷ Je crois qu'on peut en dire autant

¹ Cf. *Inst.*, I, 4 (1115 CD) une semblable remarque concernant la copie des *Psaumes*.

² 21 D 12, plutôt que son *corpus* d'introductions à l'étude de l'Écriture (P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 285-286), puisqu'il dit: 'quorum nomina . . . commemoranda perspeximus' (cf. *Inst.*, I, 10, 1122 D). Cassiodore, en effet, appelle aussi *introductorios libros* ses propres *Inst.* (1106 D 9). Par contre, le renvoi, *In ps.* 96, v 4, (685 A): 'quorum notitiam pleniorum in libris geometricae disciplinae, diligens lector, invenies,' vise les traités usuels de géométrie. Dans l'exposé du Psaume précédent (95, v. 14, col. 682 D) Cassiodore venait de renvoyer aux *Eléments* d'Euclide, que les *Inst.* citent et utilisent dans la traduction de Boèce (1213 D).

³ Cf. *Inst.*, *praef.*, 1106 D, les différents genres de notes, dont il pourvut ses manuscrits (cf. *supra* p. 269) et les préfaces qu'il mit en tête de ses *corpus*, cf. *infra* p. 276).

⁴ 109 AB. Cf. *supra*, p. 266, n. 3. Cf. Beda, *Patrol lat.*, xci, 77 et 454; P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXIV (1917), 357-358.

⁵ Cf. *supra* p. 266 n. 1.

⁶ Cf. *infra* p. 275 n. 1. Peut-être pourra-t-on préciser davantage, quand on connaîtra les différents recueils de lettres entre lesquels la tradition de la correspondance du Grand docteur était partagée.

⁷ 18 A 15-B 1. On se rappelle que Cassiodore avait annoté dans ce traité les passages sujets à caution; il le fit copier aussi en tête de son *corpus* d'introductions à l'étude de l'Écriture

de la citation du traité *Quid faciat haereticum* de Primase d'Hadrumète.¹ Mais la mention la plus intéressante est celle de la *Defensio Trium Capitulorum* que l'évêque Facundus d'Hermiane composa au cours de l'hiver 547-548.² Avec la remarque concernant la copie du commentaire réparti sur trois manuscrits et la mention du dessin du

(1122 BD cf. *supra* p. 270 n. 3 et *infra* p. 284 n. 3. 367 D: *Nam . . . disseruit* pourrait être également une ajoute (cf. *infra*. Sinon, les notes bibliographiques sont le plus souvent rattachées au texte par *Unde*. Il est cependant difficile de se décider pour 122 D (cf. 153 C): citation de Cyrille d'Alex. *Adv. Nest.* Tout comme Vigile de Thapsus (*Patrol. lat.*, LXII, 152 D) et Théodoret dans son *Erânistès* (cf. *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, VI [Louvain, 1905], 293, no. 13), Cassiodore a emprunté une citation (523 A) de l'*Homil. de Ascen.* de St Jean Chrysostome (*Patrol. graeca*, XLIX, 446 *med.*) au dossier qu'en 450 le pape Léon le Grand annexa à sa lettre au patriarche Flavien (Mansi, *Conc.*, VI, 967). Cf. Chr. Baur, *St Jean Chrys.* (Louvain, 1907), p. 72 et 11 (Cette citation ne figurait pas dans le dossier du concile de Chalcedoine).

¹ 836 D: 'Unde sanctus Primasius Justinianopoleos [Hadrumète fut rebaptisée ainsi en 534] disertus antistes sub titulo *Quid haereticum facit* librum unum conscripsisse dignoscitur.' La copie que Cassiodore possédait de ce traité faisait suite au commentaire du même auteur sur l'Apocalypse: *Inst.*, I, 9 (1124 C): 'Nostris quoque temporibus *Apocalypsis* praedicta beati episcopi Primasii antistitis africana studio minute ac diligenter quinque libris exposita est, quibus etiam liber unus *Quid faciat haereticum* cautissima disputatione subiunctus est.' On sait que Primase, qui n'avait cessé de se ranger à l'avis du pape Vigile, souscrivit son premier *Constitutum* qui évitait de condamner les Trois Chapitres, le 12 mai 553 (Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 106 C, cf. 199 B; Vict. Tonn., *Monum. Germ. hist.*, *Auct. Antiq.*, XI, 202, 20) Il fut enfermé dans un couvent. Victor de Tunnuna, fougex adversaire de la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*, rapporte (à tort sous l'année 552, *loc. cit.*), qu'afin de recueillir la succession de l'évêque Boethus, comme primat de Byzacène, Primase adhéra (en 554) au second *Constitutum*, par lequel le pape lança l'anathème exigé par l'empereur. Mais Primase fut excommunié par les évêques de sa province et il ne fut reconnu qu'à force de persécutions dirigées par l'autorité civile. Il mourut en 558. (Cf. p. ex. Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris, 1896), p. 434 ss.). Ces données ne permettent pas de dater la mention de Cassiodore, puisque Primase signait déjà le premier *Constitutum* comme évêque d'Hadrumète. En effet, les primats africains, sauf l'évêque de Carthage, n'étaient pas de vrais métropolitains. Le titre revenait de droit à l'évêque le plus ancien de la province. (P. Monceaux, *L'Afrique chr.*, III [Paris, 1905], p. 88-89; G. Lapeyre, *St Fulgence de Ruspe*, [Paris, 1929], p. 147). — *Beatus* se dit aussi des vivants; cf. P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 289.

² 994 A: 'Unde etiam Facundus venerabilis episcopus, haereticorum penetrabili subtilitate destructor, nuper ad Iustinianum principem scribens de duabus naturis Domini Christi duos libellos caute nimis luculenterque tractavit, quos vobis transcriptos reliqui, ut nec antiquis egeatis tractatoribus nec modernis.' G. Krüger, dans Schanz, IV, 2 (1920), p. 583, 41, a admis avec raison, qu'il faut lire *duodecim libellos* (quoique le *Paris BN. 12241 [Corbie]*, s. VIII et le *Bruz. 1229 [5460-5461]* s. X, fo 131 vb, p. ex., donnent également *duos*), car, c'est au pape qu'était adressé le mémoire privé, par lequel Facundus dut motiver son opinion dans la question des Trois Chapitres, tout comme les autres évêques qui assistèrent au synode que Vigile présida, lorsqu'il était déjà gagné à la cause de la condamnation, *Patrol. lat.*, LXV, 527 B-528 C; 859 B 14-861 B 13. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conc.*, III, 1 (Paris, 1909), 18-19, 22-26. Pour la chronologie, ce point controversé est d'ailleurs sans importance, puisque Facundus acheva son traité peu après les trois réunions de ce synode, qui se rassembla à la suite de la réconcilia-

Tabernacle exécuté dans le *codex grandior*, c'est l'unique allusion que ce commentaire fait à l'œuvre réalisée à Vivarium. Par sa façon de s'adresser à des personnes que le contexte ne permet pas d'identifier, elle se révèle également comme une note marginale. D'autre part, elle donne clairement à entendre que la bibliothèque de Vivarium était déjà abondamment pourvue. Il n'est pas admissible que dans tout son commentaire Cassiodore ne se serait adressé à ses moines qu'une seule fois et incidemment, quand sa fondation avait déjà acquis une telle ampleur, alors que dans sa préface il rappelle les fonctions qu'il a déposées à Ravenne. Au contraire, si on refusait de considérer cette citation comme une ajoutée postérieure,¹ il faudrait dater ce commentaire entre 548 et 550. Car, à cette dernière date, nous avons vu Cassiodore intervenir contre le diacre Rusticus, qui s'opposait à la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*, et vraisemblablement Facundus se tenait alors déjà caché, tout en soutenant l'opposition d'au fond de sa retraite, d'où il lança encore son *Contre Mocianum* en 571.² Dans ce cas, l'ex-ministre ne pouvait qualifier l'adversaire le plus acharné de la politique religieuse de Justinien d'*haereticorum penetrabili subtilitate destructor*. On conçoit néanmoins, qu'il l'ait désigné de la sorte dans une note marginale destinée à ses moines et en égard aux mérites que l'évêque africain s'était acquis par sa défense de l'orthodoxie romaine dans la question christologique. Le *nuper scribens* peut même comporter un laps de temps assez long, par rapport aux *antiquis tractatoribus*. A la rigueur, on pourrait restreindre l'interpolation aux mots 'quos vobis transcriptos reliqui, ut nec antiquis egeatis tractatoribus nec modernis,' et admettre que Cassiodore aurait publié sa première œuvre depuis sa *conversio* en 548-549, c. à d. après dix années d'études. Sinon, cette mention établirait non seulement qu'en 548 le monastère de Vivarium était déjà fondé depuis un certain temps, mais aussi que l'ex-ministre

tion du pape avec le patriarche de Constantinople (laquelle eut lieu, d'après Théophane, le 29 juin 547; Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *loc. cit.* p. 22) et avant le *Judicatum* de Vigile (11 avril 548). Cf. Facund. *Def.*, II, 6, (*Patrol. lat.*, LXVII, 577).

¹ Pourtant, la phrase suivante 'Quapropter relinquamus aliquando adversantium contentiones illicitas,' se comprend très bien en fonction de la thèse qui précède (993 D 3): 'si quis confessus fuerit . . . , rectam doctrinam et hoc quod confessus est perimit.'

² Cf. G. Krüger dans Schanz, t. IV, 2, p. 382.

n'était pas entré dans sa fondation, puisqu'il apparaît en 550 à Constantinople comme *vir religiosus* à côté du patrice Cethegus. Moine, il n'aurait pu occuper ce rang. Pour ma part, je crois que ce passage a été interpolé entièrement et que le commentaire sur les *Psaumes* n'a pas été édité trop longtemps après le *De anima*.

Cassiodore a d'ailleurs pourvu également ses *Inst.* de pareilles ajoutées. A ce propos, on a déjà relevé la remarque qui termine la notice consacrée à St Jérôme. L'ex-ministre y signale la lettre que le grand traducteur adressa à Paulin de Nole, et il déclare que s'il l'avait connue avant qu'il eut composé cette introduction à l'étude de l'Écriture (*opere iam confecto*), il n'aurait pas abordé ce sujet traité par le grand docteur.¹ Un renvoi à l'*epistola Hieronymi ad Chromatium*, dont l'authenticité a été fort controversée, est manifestement passé de la marge dans le texte.² Ailleurs Cassiodore fait remarquer qu'il a joint le *De inventione* de Cicéron aux *Inst.* de Quintilien pour remplir le manuscrit; qu'il a, par contre, fait copier l'*Ars rhet.* de Fortunatien in *pugillari codice*.³ Or, immédiatement après, nous lisons: 'quos codices cum praefatione sua in uno corpore reperietis esse collectos.' Postérieurement à la composition de ses *Inst.*, Cassiodore avait donc réuni ces traités en un *corpus* de rhétorique, pareil aux recueils dans lesquels il avait rassemblé des introductions à l'étude de l'Écriture,⁴

¹ Cependant, A. Franz, *Cass. Senator* (Breslau, 1872), p. 48, ne cite qu'*Inst.* I, 21, 1136 AB; 'Is epistolam . . . imbuantur.' Le passage inséré va jusqu'à la fin du chapitre. Il interrompt la suite des idées avec le chapitre suivant consacré à St Augustin. — M. Th. Stettner a bien voulu mettre à ma disposition sa collation du *Bamb.*, du *Wirceb.* et de quelques autres MSS des *Inst.*, d'après lesquels je corrige le texte de Garet dans toutes mes citations.

² *Inst.*, I, 32, 1147 CD: 'Et ideo . . . passiones martyrum legitte constanter [quas inter alia in epistola s. Hieronymi ad Chromatium et Heliodorum destinata (am *Bamb.*) procul dubio reperitis], qui (quae *Bamb.*) per totum orbem terrarum floruerunt, ut sancta imitatio vos provocans . . .' Cf. B. Krusch, *Neues Archiv. d. Gesellsch. f. alt. dt. Gesch.*, xxvi (1901), 368-369 et 372-376; Schanz, IV, 1 (1914), 442.

³ *Inst.*, II, 2 (Halm, *Reth. lat.*, p. 498 = 1164 CD). P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXIV (1917), p. 369, se demande, si dans le *Bern.* 363, s. IX ex., nous ne posséderions pas la rédaction abrégée (*redogimus*) de ce traité que Cassiodore avait exécuter dans ce MS. 'qu'on tient aisément en la paume de la main.' Mais le *Bern.* ne laisse tomber que rarement la forme par questions et réponses. De plus, dans ce MS., le traité de Fortunatien est suivi des *Princ. dial.* et *Princ. rhet.* d'Augustin, tout comme dans le *Darmst.* 166, s. VII, qui ne présente pas cette rédaction simplifiée (cf. *Hermes*, xxiv (1889), 161 ss.). Celle-ci est donc l'œuvre du copiste du *Bern.* ou de son archétype.

⁴ Cf. *supra* p. 272 n. 2.

des manuels de grammaire, des extraits d'orthographe ou des textbooks de logique.¹ Il les avait également pourvus d'une préface. Depuis le IV^e siècle, la substitution du *codex* au *volumen*, qui ne contenait généralement qu'un seul livre d'un ouvrage,² permettait de réunir des matières semblables dans un même manuscrit. Cette pratique n'était sans doute point ignorée des contemporains de Cassiodore, mais elle reçut de lui une application si systématique qu'elle constitue l'une des caractéristiques les plus saillantes de son œuvre.³ Elle fut d'ailleurs reprise sur une grande échelle au Moyen-Age.⁴

Même après que ses *Inst.* eurent été divulguées dans l'édition que reproduit la classe de MSS du *Bamberg.*, Cassiodore ne cessa de tenir à jour la description qu'elles donnent de son œuvre à Vivarium, au fur et à mesure qu'il la complétait. La tradition du premier remaniement du second livre des *Inst.* (groupe de MSS du *Wirceb.*) en fait foi à propos du *corpus* de grammaire, dont elle détaille le contenu en des termes qui décèlent la main du seigneur de Squillace.⁵ En effet, ce recueil n'avait compris primitivement que la *Grammaire* de Donat,

¹ Cf. *infra* n. 3; p. 288, n. 1.

² Cf. Th. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (Berlin, 1882), p. 95 ss. et *Kritik u. Hermeneutik* (*Handbuch* de I. v. Müller, I, 3), 1913, p. 293 ss., 344 ss. — W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei d. Griechen u. Römern* (Berlin, 1907), p. 101-112, s'est élevé contre la tendance à dater trop tardivement l'usage du *codex*. Au II^e siècle, celui-ci aurait déjà été passablement répandu. Cependant le *corpus* est une forme particulière de l'emploi du *codex* et est certainement plus récent. Cf. Birt, *Buchwesen*, p. 41. — Cassiodore faisait copier ses MSS sur des *codices* en parchemin, car il signale expressément que les commentaires de Pélage, non révisés par lui, étaient contenus *in chartaceo codice* (1119 B). D'autre part, il mentionne quelques lignes plus loin, que l'exposé de St Augustin sur l'Épître de St Jacques figurait *in membranaceo codice* (1120 B). Le docteur d'Hippone ne faisait pas grand cas de ces notes (*Retract.*, II, 58), qui n'ont point été conservées. Cassiodore ne les possédait sans doute pas dans ses manuscrits en papyrus des grands ouvrages de St Augustin qu'il avait acquis, le papyrus étant répandu davantage au V^e siècle, mais dans une copie de traités secondaires que lui-même avait peut-être réunis.

³ *In hoc corpore continentur* est même une des expressions favorites de Cassiodore, mais le plus souvent elle est synonyme de *in hoc codice* et n'est point propre à notre auteur. Cf. L. Traube, dans *Theodosiani libri XVI . . .* (éd. Th. Mommsen, P. Meyer), *tabulae sex* (Berlin, 1905), p. II. Cf. G. Morin, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1914, p. 239, n. 1.

⁴ L'étude des *corpus* de logique m'a permis de préciser *Les Etapes du Développement philosophique du Haut-Moyen-Age*, dans la *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1929, p. 425-452. J'espère pouvoir consacrer bientôt un ouvrage aux *corpus* du Haut Moyen-Age.

⁵ On peut lire les deux versions chez Laubmann, *Sitzungsberichte bayer. Akad.*, phil.-hist.-kl., 1878, II, 79 ou dans Keil, *Gram. lat.*, VII, 216, i, qui adopte le texte du MS. de Würzburg:

suivie peut-être des commentaires de Servius.¹ Les extraits d'orthographe que Cassiodore avait tirés de différents auteurs formaient d'abord un ouvrage distinct.² Ce n'est que par la suite que l'auteur les réunit à ce *codex*, en même temps qu'il y ajouta un choix d'étymologies,³ ainsi que le *De schematibus* de Sacerdos, que nous ne possédons plus. Lorsqu'âgé de 93 ans il édita son *De orthographia*, il l'augmenta de quatre chapitres qu'il plaça en tête et à la fin de ces extraits. Quand alors dans la préface de cette édition il dressa la liste de ses œuvres postérieures à sa *conversio*, il ne mentionna plus, dans la description de ce *corpus* de grammaire, le *liber de orthographia* qu'il éditait.⁴ Le premier remaniement des *Inst.* (classe de MSS du *Wirceob.*) a donc fait usage d'une copie qui remonte à un exemplaire dans lequel l'ex-ministre avait précisé le contenu de ce *corpus* postérieurement à la divulgation de son traité d'après l'archétype du *Bamberg*.⁵

<i>Bamb.</i>	:	<i>Wirceob.</i> = 1153 D
Haec breviter de definitionibus tantummodo dicta sufficiant	:	Haec breviter dicta sufficiant.
Ceterum qui ea voluerit latius pleniusque cognoscere cum praefatione sua codicem legat quem de grammatica feci arte conscribi	:	nostra curiositate formavimus, : id est artem Donati, cui de orthographia libri : et alium de etymologiis inseruimus, : quartum quoque de schematibus Sacerdotis : adiunximus, : quatenus diligens lector : in uno codice reperire possit, quod arti grammaticae : deputatum esse cognoscit.

On rapprochera du texte du *Wirceob.* la description (1112 D) du *corpus* des 'introduciores Scripturae divinae . . . quos *sedula curiositate* collegi, ut . . . *in uno corpore* adunati codices clauderentur' et 1145 c '[auctores orthographos] quos ego quantos potui *studiosa curiositate* collegi.' *Reperire* est également une expression caractéristique de Cassiodore, par laquelle il désigne les manuscrits qu'il a mis à la disposition de ses moines.

¹ Cf. n. précédente le texte du *Bamb.*; *infra* n. 4 et *Inst.* II, 1, 1152 c 4.

² *Inst.*, I, 30, 1145 c: ' . . . in libro sequestrato atque composito qui inscribitur De orthographia; ' *ib.* I, 15, 1129 B ' . . . extrinsecus huic libro De orthographia titulum dedi.'

³ H. Erdbruegger, *Cass. unde etymol. in psalt. comment. prolatae petivisse putandas sit* (Inaug.-Diss., Iena, 1912), établit qu'un tiers (55) de ces étymologies proviennent du *De lingua lat.* de Varron. L'auteur suppose que Cassiodore aurait réuni ce recueil déjà avant sa *conversio*.

⁴ *De orth. praef.*, IV, (p. 144, 7, éd. Keil = 1240 D) ' . . . codicem in quo artes Donati cum commentis suis et librum de etymologiis et alium librum Sacerdotis de schematibus (Cf. 1153 c) domino praestante collegi.'

⁵ Je signalerai encore deux retouches intéressantes que la tradition du *Wirceob.* présente en

La formation tardive du *corpus* de traités de rhétorique et les remaniements que Cassiodore avait fait subir à celui consacré à la grammaire, et enfin son édition complétée de son recueils d'auteurs d'orthographe à l'âge de 93 ans, prouvent que s'il s'occupa en premier lieu à pourvoir la bibliothèque de ses moines d'un ensemble très complet d'exposés scripturaires encadrant un texte révisé de l'Écriture,¹ il multiplia par la suite ses efforts et ses instances pour recommander et faciliter l'étude des arts libéraux.² Il fut sans doute impressionné par la décadence prodigieusement rapide de l'enseignement et de la culture littéraire après les dévastations de la guerre gothique. Dans l'introduction de ses *Inst.*, il rappelle que de concert avec le pape Agapet (535-536) il avait voulu fonder une université chrétienne à Rome, les études profanes étant pratiquées avec ardeur,³ tandis que la science sacrée n'était point l'objet d'un enseignement public. Certes, son manuel insiste beaucoup sur la nécessité de se servir des arts libéraux dans l'étude et l'Écriture. Mais on y rencontre pas mal d'expressions moins catégoriques et plus réservées ('earum rerum . . . non refugienda cognitio; scripturae saeculares non debent respui'),⁴ que celle qui nous frappe dans l'introduction de son *De orthographia*: 'labor nobis antiquorum omnino servandus est, ne

propre, sans qu'elles puissent être l'œuvre de l'interpolateur des *Inst.* qui ne s'intéressait guère aux choses de Vivarium (Cf. *infra* p. 289): 1205 D, [Gaudentium] . . . amicus noster (om. *Bamb.*, *Sangall.* 855) vir disertissimus Mutianus transtulit in latinum; 1212 c: habetis hic (om. *Bamb.* *Sangall.*) Gaudentium Mutiani latinum (om. *Bamb.* *Sangall.*). Cependant, aussi longtemps qu'on ne sera pas informé sur la teneur des autres MSS de la première classe, on ne pourra pas assurer qu'il ne s'agit ici d'une omission dans un groupe de ces MSS.

¹ Toutefois, le *corpus* des *text-books* (*auctoritates*) de logique est déjà mentionné dans 'la rédaction authentique' (cf. Laubmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 85). Cependant, Cassiodore ne possédait sur cette matière qu'une collection très incomplète de traités. Cf. *infra* p. 288.

² Evidemment, il ne cessa de consacrer son attention aux études sacrées. Le *liber titulorum* et les *Compleziones* sont postérieures à ses *Inst.*, et vraisemblablement même à ces remaniements; car, dans la liste chronologique placée en tête du *De orth.*, le *corpus* de grammaire est mentionné — quoique d'après son ultime remaniement — avant ces travaux scripturaires (cf. *supra* p. 271 n. 4).

³ *Praef.* début: 'Cum studia saecularium litterarum magno desiderio fervere cognoscerem.' Cf. par contre Boèce, *In Cat.*, *Patrol. lat.*, LXIV, 231, c 6: 'Multae quoque sunt artes quas esse quidem in suae naturae ratione perspicimus, quarum neglectus scientiam sustulit. Multum ego ipse iam metuo ne hoc verissime de omnibus studiis liberalibus dicatur.' Le 'Dernier des Romains' attribuait la décadence des sciences à la *desidia*, cf. *ib.*, 232 c 14; *In Cic. Top.*, 1152 c; *II In περί ἑρμηνείας*, I. II, *praef.*, p. 79, 4, éd. Meiser.

⁴ 1141 A et *Conclusio*, éd. Mai. *Classici Auct.*, III (Rome, 1831), 350 ss.

nos auctores earum rerum mentiamur qui sequaces esse cognoscimur.¹

Cependant, écrivant pour des moines, Cassiodore traite les arts libéraux en sciences auxiliaires de la théologie, suivant en cela le programme des Pères de l'Église et spécialement le *De doctrina chr.* de St Augustin. Certes, lui-même cite parfois Virgile et ne se dépouille pas entièrement de ses habitudes de lettré²; mais nulle part il ne recommande — ni ne défend, il est vrai, — de lire les poètes.³ Pour les religieux, le but essentiel de l'étude est de s'élever jusqu'à la pleine intelligence des livres saints. A l'époque de Cassiodore, engager des moines à l'étude systématique de l'Écriture constituait déjà une entreprise très remarquable. Nous ne connaissons personne qui à cette date l'ait réalisée en Occident avec autant de méthode et en faisant largement appel aux sciences profanes.⁴ L'ex-ministre, qui déjà durant l'exercice de ses fonctions à la Cour lisait la Bible

¹ p. 143, 8 éd. Keil, VII = 1239 c 11. Cf. *Inst.*, 1141 A: 'Sit ergo antiquorum labor opus nostrum, ut quod illi latius plurimis codicibus ediderunt, nos brevissime . . . secundo volumine [scil. Institutionum] collecta pandamus, et quod illi ad exercendas versutias derivarunt, nos ad veritatis obsequia laudabili devotione revocemus.' Cf. *supra* p. 263 n. 1.

² M. Bacherler, 'Cassiodora Dichterkenntnis u. Dichterzitate,' *Blätter f. d. baeyer. Gymn.*, 1923, p. 215-224, établit que beaucoup de ses citations d'auteurs ne supposent pas une connaissance directe de leurs œuvres.

³ Cf. M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des Lettres classiques d'Auasone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), p. 131-143; 175-187; — F. Schneider se méprend aussi grossièrement sur l'œuvre de Cassiodore à Vivarium que précédemment sur son action politique, lorsqu'il déclare, 'Cass. ging nicht von kirchlichen Zwecke, sondern vom Interesse an der röm. Literatur aus.' Avec raison, Dom. J. Chapman, *St Benedict and the VI Century* (London, 1929), p. 89, cite ce passage des *Inst.*, I, 28, 1142 A, comme caractérisant le plus complètement le point de vue monastique de Cassiodore à ce sujet:

'Verumtamen nec illud patres sanctissimi decreverunt, ut saecularium litterarum studia respuantur, quia exinde non minimum ad sacras scripturas sensus noster instruitur, si tamen divina gratia suffragante notitia ipsarum rerum sobrie ac rationabiliter inquiratur, ut non in ipsis habeamus spem proventus nostri, sed per ipsa transeuntes, desideremus nobis a patre luminum proficuum salutaremque sapientiam debere concedi.'

⁴ Une étude critique et complète sur l'enseignement durant les premiers siècles du monachisme est encore à faire. Il ne faut pas non plus attribuer à Cassiodore l'initiative d'avoir introduit dans les monastères la copie des manuscrits ou l'étude de l'Écriture. La règle de St Pacôme (†346) prescrivait déjà aux moines de savoir lire et écrire, sinon de suivre à cet effet des leçons trois fois par jour. (Holstenius, *Cod. regul.*, I (Rome, 1661), 83 §139-140, cf. § 25. Dans ses fondations il y avait une corporation de moines copistes (cf. Lenain de Tillemont, *Mémoires*, VII [Paris, 1700], 179-80). St Jérôme enseignait la grammaire aux moines de son monastère à Bethléem (*Apol. adv. Ruf.*, I, 30-31 [*Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, 421-4], cité par E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* [Cambridge, Mass., 1928], p. 120). En

avec ferveur¹ et méditait la fondation d'une école de théologie, composa peu après un traité d'édification comme le *De anima*, et commenta les *Psaumes* en insistant sur cette idée commune aux Pères de l'Eglise, que toute la culture littéraire, voire toute la science profane, sont contenues dans l'Écriture et y ont été empruntées,² a simplement laissé suivre à ses goûts et à ses préoccupations littéraires qui caractérisaient sa personnalité, l'évolution décadente de son époque, lorsqu'il réalisa l'étude de l'Écriture dans une fondation monastique.

Car, dans l'Italie ruinée par vingt années de guerre, dominée par les Byzantins ou envahie par les Lombards, le culte des lettres avait été abandonné avec la dislocation de la classe sénatoriale dont avait constitué l'apanage.³ C'était cette noblesse qui sous le règne restaurateur de Théodoric avait continué les traditions littéraires que ses membres païens, les Symmaque, les Nicomaque, les Prétextat, avaient dressées naguère contre le christianisme triomphant.⁴ Entre 494 et 535 leurs descendants chrétiens avaient donné encore des éditions revisées de Virgile, d'Horace, du *De bello gallico*, de

Gaule il y avait des écoles célèbres, comme celles de Lérins. Cf. P. Lahargou, *De Schola Lerinensi* (Paris, 1892). D'autre part, Cassien et Grégoire le Grand rejetaient l'appoint des arts libéraux pour l'étude de l'Écriture. Cf. Roger, *loc. cit.*: E. K. Rand *loc. cit.*, p. 234 ss.—Cf. encore A. Hauck, *Kirchengesch. Deutschl.*, II² (1912), 61 ss. et quelques suggestions de Dr Erna Patzelt, *Die Karol. Renaissance* (Wien, 1924), p. 41 ss. et de Dom J. Chapman, *loc. cit.*, p. 90-91. Le plaidoyer de Mgr Amelli (Dom-Abbé du Mont-Cassin), 'Cass. e S. Benedetto,' *Riv. stor. bened.*, XI (1920), 168-172, renouvelant celui de Dom Garet, *Patrol. lat.* LXIX, 483 ss., pour établir que Cassiodore aurait été influencé par St Benoît, est resté sans effet. (Cf. R. Coens, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1923, p. 188). Cependant, avec beaucoup de perspicacité, Dom J. Chapman, *loc. cit.*, p. 93-110, a recherché dans les œuvres de Cassiodore les traces d'influence de la règle de St Benoît; mais les résultats auxquels l'auteur est arrivé, ne seront tout à fait probants, que lorsqu'on aura examiné davantage les sources communes aux deux œuvres; cf. *supra* p. 262 n. 1. A juste titre, il interprète p. 109-110, *praeceptoris proprii* (1147 A): 'l'auteur de la règle de ses moines' et il conclut que Cassiodore avait adopté la règle bénédictine. La chose n'a rien d'in vraisemblable. Quant aux soins que Cassiodore consacra à l'instruction de ses moines, Dom Chapman admet, avec tout le monde, qu'ils distinguent nettement la fondation de l'ex-ministre de la congrégation naissante de son contemporain.

¹ *Var.*, IX, 25, p. 292, 31: 'hos igitur mores lectio divina solidavit.'

² Cf. *In. Ps.*, *passim* et *praesertim praef.*, c. 15, 20 c; *Inst.*, *praef.*, 1108 c et 1, 4, 1115 c.

³ Cf. p. ex. C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, VIII (Paris, 1926), 242 ss.

⁴ G. Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*, II (Paris, 1891), 227 ss. Cf. Clifford H. Moore, 'The Pagan Reaction in the IVth Century,' *Transactions and Proc. American Philol. Assoc.*, L (1919), 128.

Pomponius Mela, de Valère Maxime, du Commentaire de Macrobe sur le *Somnium Scipionis*, du *De nuptiis* de Martianus Capella, des poésies de Sédulius.¹ Par contre, durant la seconde partie du VI^e siècle, les suscriptions des manuscrits ne nous révèlent que la revision d'œuvres théologiques. Chose curieuse à première vue, toutes proviennent de l'Italie du Sud. Rome, en effet, ne se releva pas de sitôt des sièges et des assauts qu'elle avait subis pendant la guerre gothique, et l'Italie du Nord était soumise à l'invasion des Lombards. Ainsi, un anonyme corrigea en 559 un *De Trinitate* de St Augustin 'in territorio Cumano in possessione nostra Ascheruscio' (*Divion.* 141, s. XI); à Aquino (vraisemblablement avant 590) le grammairien Dulcitus corrigea, ponctua, et pourvut de notes à la façon de Cassiodore une copie en papyrus du *De Trin.* de St Hilaire de Poitiers (*Vindob.* 2160, s. VI). *Petrus notarius eccl. cath. Neapolitanae* corrigea en 582 durant le siège de Naples par les Lombards (*Paris.* 11642 [*Corbie*] s. IX), le choix d'extraits des œuvres de St Augustin, qu'avant d'être abbé du monastère de St Séverin in castello Lucullano (Castel dell'ovo à Naples), Eugippius avait dédié au début du VI^e siècle à la parente de Cassiodore, l'illustre vierge Proba, la consœur de Galla, qui était fille de Symmaque et belle-sœur de Boèce. C'est à ces nobles femmes que le champion du monachisme, l'évêque africain St Fulgence, exilé en Sardaigne, avait adressé (entre 510 et 520),² de courts traités d'édification sous forme de lettres, tout comme il était en relation avec d'autres cercles aristocratiques à Rome et avec Eugippius lui-même, qui lui fit copier différentes œuvres de sa bibliothèque.³ L'abbé de Lucullanum resta d'ailleurs en correspondance avec le disciple et biographe de Fulgence (†532), le diacre Ferrandus de Carthage (†546-547)⁴ dont nous avons conservé également un billet

¹ Cf. chez Traube, *Vorlesungen*, II (Munich, 1911), 124-5 (cf. Gercke-Norden, *Einll. in d. Altertumswiss.* I, 4 [1923], 96), la bibliographie de leurs suscriptions réunies par O. Jahn, Reifferscheid, etc.

² Cf. G. Lapeyre, *St Fulgence de Ruspe* (Paris, 1929), p. 232 ss.; cf. p. 327 pour la date.

³ Cf. *supra* p. 254; G. Krüger dans Schanz, IV, 2, 1233, 1239; *Patrol. lat.* LXV, 348: 'Obsecro ut libros quos opus habemus servi tui describant de codicibus vestris.'

⁴ En 546, Ferrandus fut consulté par la Cour de Rome au sujet de la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*. Il s'entretint également avec le *scholasticus* Severus de Constantinople concernant la question théopaschite. Enfin, nous avons encore de lui une lettre à l'abbé Félix, sans doute, l'ami de St Fulgence, que j'identifie avec l'abbé du monastère de Gillium

au questeur Junilius de Constantinople, l'auteur des *Instituta regularia* (551).¹

Après la mort d'Eugippius, auquel Denys le Petit avait dédié avec beaucoup de vénération sa traduction du *Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπων* de Grégoire de Nysse,² le monastère de Lucullanum continua à être un centre d'attraction littéraire. Un *presbyter Donatus* . . . *infirmus* y corrigea en 569 son propre manuscrit de la traduction de Rufin du commentaire d'Origène sur l'*Épître aux Romains* (*Casin.* 150 [346], s. vi), ainsi que le *De adulteratione librorum Origenis de Rufin* et sa traduction du *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* du même auteur (*Metten.* 225, s. xi).³ En 560, un certain Facistus (Faustus ?) copia un épistolaire de St Augustin d'après un manuscrit de cette abbaye (*Paris. n. acq.* 1143 [*Chuniac.*], s. ix). Mais la plus célèbre suscription est celle de l'année 558 dans les *Évangiles* d'Echternach (*Paris. 9389*, s. vii) : 'Proemendavi ut potui secundum codicem de bibliotheca eugipi praespiteri quem ferunt fuisse sci hironimi . . .'⁴ Par une série de brillantes déductions, Dom J. Chapman a cru établir⁵ que le reviseur anonyme aurait été Cassiodore dans les septième volume de son principal texte de l'Écriture.⁶ Eugippius, — que l'ex-ministre a connu et auquel il consacra

en Afrique (cf. R. L. Poole, *Engl. Hist. Review*, xxxiii [1918], 211-3); G. Lapeyre, *St Fulg. de Ruspe*, (Paris, 1929), p. 110, n. 16. qui en 553, s'opposa à Constantinople avec le diacre Rusticus à la politique du pape Vigile et mourut en exil en 557 (Vict. Tonn., *Chron.*, *ad a.*, et lettre de Vigile, *supra* p. 255 n. cit.) Cf. G. Krüger dans Schanz, *op. cit.*, iv, 2, §1233 et *Harnack-Ehrung* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 220 ss. Les lettres de Ferrandus publiées par Mai et par Reifferscheid d'après le *Casin.* 16, s. xi, ont été éditées également dans le *Florilegium* de la *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, I (1874), 193 ss.—Cf. maintenant G. Lapeyre, *Introd. sur la Vie et l'œuvre de Ferrandus* (Paris, 1929).

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 259.

² A l'instar de Denys le Petit, Ferrandus composa une *Breviatio canonum*, à la suite de laquelle un laïque de Carthage, Cresconius, composa une autre compilation de ce genre, tirée de l'œuvre similaire de Denys et conservée entre autre dans le *Veron.* 62, s. viii/ix (cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*, p. 574-575).

³ W. A. Baehrens, 'Ueberl. u. Textgesch. d. lat. . . Origenes Homilien z.A.T.', *Texte u. Unters. z. altchr. Lit.*, XLII, I (1916), 193.

⁴ Sur ces suscriptions chrétiennes cf. Traube, *Vorles.*, I (Munich, 1909), 108; R. Beer, dans *Monumenta palaeographica Vindob.*, I (1911), 9 ss.; II (1913), 14 ss.

⁵ *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), p. 23 ss., et *Rev. bénéd.*, 1911, p. 283-295. Le savant abbé de Downside Abbey (Bath) eut l'obligeance de m'écrire qu'il est toujours du même avis. Cf. cependant, E. v. Dobschütz, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1909, p. 617-621 et Dom D. De Bruyne, *Rev. Bénéd.*, 1909, p. 112.

⁶ Nous posséderions ainsi un nouvel élément pour la chronologie des *Inst.*

une notice dans ses *Inst.*, en même temps qu'à Denys le Petit, — se serait procuré ce texte révisé par St Jérôme dans la bibliothèque de son ancienne correspondante et parente de Cassiodore, l'illustre Proba, dont les ancêtres avaient été en relation avec le grand traducteur. Vers 546, date de l'achèvement du *Fuldensis*, la bibliothèque de Lucullanum aurait prêté le même texte à Victor de Capoue (év. de 541 à 544), autre célébrité de l'Italie du Sud à cette époque.¹

Il est intéressant de constater que ce sont surtout des textes scripturaires, comme le *Fuldensis*, le *codex grandior* de Cassiodore, et peut-être ses pandectes hieronymiennes ou la source de l'*Amiatinus*, auxquels les Irlandais se sont attachés, et que Ceolfrid, en particulier, rapporta de Rome à Jarrow durant le dernier quart du VII^e siècle.² Ces renseignements laissent supposer que la bibliothèque de Cassiodore aurait été transportée dans la Ville Eternelle au VII^e siècle, lorsque le rite grec s'installa dans l'Italie du Sud.³ Mais la majeure partie des manuscrits de l'ex-ministre émigra vers l'Italie du Nord, surtout au monastère de Bobbio (près de Milan) et à Vérone.⁴ Ici encore, une bonne partie des auteurs profanes provenant de la bibliothèque privée de Cassiodore⁵ devinrent des palimpsestes. Cependant, le fait que bon nombre de traductions que l'ex-ministre avait fait

¹ Cf. G. Krüger dans Schanz, iv, p. 596, 8. Cependant, malgré ses quelques traductions d'annotations de docteurs grecs et sa critique du cycle paschal de Victurius (550) puisée à des sources grecques (B. Krusch, *Neues Archiv.*, ix [1884] 111-115), ses mérites viennent d'être sérieusement diminués par la preuve (Dom D. De Bruyne, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 5-11), qu'il n'a point traduit une *Harmonie* grecque des Évangiles, mais se vante outre mesure d'avoir numéroté les sections d'un *Diatessaron* vulgate.

² En dernier lieu, Esposito, 'Notes on Latin Learning and Literature in Mediaeval Ireland, I,' *Hermathena*, xx (Dublin, 1927-29), 227, s'est élevé contre la tendance à surestimer la culture classique des Irlandais.

³ G. H. Hürle, *Frühmittelalterliche Mönchs- u. Klerikerbildung in Italien* (Freiburg i. Br., 1914), p. 9-12.

⁴ R. Beer, 'Bemerkungen üb. d. ältesten Hssbestand d. Klosters Bobbio,' *Anzeiger d. Philos.-hist. Kl. d. Kais. Akad.* (Wien, 1911), n°xi.

⁵ Dans ses *Inst.* qui décrivent la bibliothèque des moines, ne sont point mentionnés les grands classiques latins, dont la tradition de Vivarium semble nous avoir transmis les meilleures copies, et quelques unes dans ces éditions de la première moitié du VI^e siècle, que nous avons signalées plus haut. Cf. W. Weinberger, 'Hss. von Vivarium,' *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, iv (Rome, 1924), 75-88. A propos des commentaires de Marius Victorinus sur le *De inventione* de Cicéron, Cassiodore déclare (1164 c): 'in bibliotheca mea vobis reliquissae cognoscor.' Par contre, l'archétype des Psaumes (l'un des neuf volumes de texte révisé de l'Écriture, cf. *supra* p. 268 n. 1) se trouvait (in) *bibliotheca vestra* (1115 D).

exécuter sont perdues¹ doit nous engager à ne pas trop facilement faire remonter à Vivarium la tradition de certains textes.²

Quant aux *Inst.*, la plus ancienne copie que nous en possédons et qui reproduit le texte authentique, le *Bamberg.*, fut exécutée au Mont Cassin sur l'ordre de Paul diacre, entre 779 et 797.³ Comme nous avons pu le constater, son archétype ne quitta Vivarium qu'après que Cassiodore eut pourvu son traité de renseignements bibliographiques complémentaires, entre sa composition du *corpus* de *text-books* de rhétorique et le remaniement de son recueil de traités de grammaire. Dans le *Bamberg.*, le texte des *Inst.* est suivi d'une note par laquelle l'ex-ministre engage ses moines, conformément au plan d'études qu'il leur a tracé, à lire ensuite le *corpus* qu'il a formé d'introductions à l'étude de l'Écriture.⁴ Cette directive, tout comme celle qui fait

¹ Cf. *supra* p. 264 n. 2 à p. 266 n. 2.

² C'est le cas p. ex., pour la traduction que Rufin fit des homélies d'Origène sur l'Octateuque. M. W. Baehrens, *loc. cit. supra*, p. 282 n. 3 *cit.*, p. 186 *ss.*, laisse dériver notre tradition de l'exemplaire de Cassiodore quoique nous ne possédions plus l'exposé du prêtre Bellator sur *Ruth* que l'ex-ministre avait fait ajouter aux trois volumes de la traduction de Rufin, ni même les quatre homélies sur le Deutéronome qui étaient comprises dans ceux-ci (1112 B).

³ E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914), p. 6 surtout. (cf. R. Lejay, *Rev. de Philologie*, XVIII (1894), 52; G. Morin, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1908, p. 486-87). Le MS. contient à la suite des *Inst.*: Mallius Theodorus, *De metris*; une copie unique du *De Cursu Stellarum* de Grég. de Tours; Isid., *De Nat. Rerum*.-L. Traube, *Abhandl. d. bayr. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., XXIV (1904), p. 11 et *Sitzungsber. München*, 1900, p. 509, estime que ce codex a été apporté à Bamberg par l'empereur Otton III ou Henri II.—S. Milkau, 'Zu Cass.', *Von Büchern u. Bibliotheken, Festschrift Kuhnert* (Berlin, 1928), p. 40, ignore l'origine cassinienne du MS. et suppose que le dessin que celui-ci présente des monastères de Cassiodore, ne dérive pas de l'archétype, mais a été fait dans l'Italie lombarde au VIII^e siècle.

⁴ Elle est reproduite par Laubmann, *Sitzungsber. München*, 1878, II, 93; cf. P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 286-287: 'Complexis quantum ego arbitrator diligenterque tractatis institutionum duobus libris qui breviter divinas et humanas litteras comprehendunt, tempus est ut nunc edificatrices veterum regulas, id est codicem introductorium, legere debemus, qui ad sacras litteras nobiliter et salubriter introducunt.' Cf. *Inst.*, I, 10, 1122 CD: 'De sex modis intelligentiae (scil. scripturae). Primum est post huius operis instituta, ut ad introductores Scripturae divinae, quos postea reperimus, sollicita mente redeamus, id est . . . quos sedula curiositate collegi, ut quibus erat similis intentio in uno corpore adunati codices clauderentur.'—*Reperimus* est l'expression propre à Cassiodore, par laquelle il désigne les ouvrages qu'il a mis à la disposition de ses moines Cf. *supra* p. 276 n. 3. (*Referemus* est une conjecture de Garet.) Dans la note qui termine le *Bamberg.*, 'id est codicem introductorium legere debemus,' me paraît être une ajoutée d'un moine de Vivarium, visant à expliquer la référence obscure: 'edificatrices veterum regulas.' Cette interpolation aura fait tomber le verbe, p. ex.: (. . . regulas) adgnoscamus (cf. 1110 A 3, 1056 C 13; 1175 D 10, 13; 1167 B 6, 1171 B 7, etc.). Car je ne crois pas que Cassiodore ait pu écrire: 'tempus est ut nunc . . . legere debe (a) mus' ni 'codicem introductorium . . . qui . . . introducunt.' S'il y a interpolation, quos postea reperi-

suite à son commentaire sur les *Psaumes*,¹ les signes qui y mettent en évidence des matières se rapportant aux arts libéraux, les notes bibliographiques ajoutées postérieurement à ce commentaire, comme aux *Inst.*, établissent que les copies que nous possédons de ces œuvres ne proviennent pas d'éditions vulgarisées par l'auteur, mais ont été transcrites de manuscrits de Vivarium. La suscription du *Bamberg.*: 'Hic est codex archetypus ad cuius exemplaria sunt reliqui corrigendi,' n'est de Cassiodore, ni de ses moines. Elle suppose une profonde corruption des *Inst.* déjà fort répandues. Dans cette tradition viciée, on n'hésitera pas à reconnaître le remaniement (groupe des MSS du *Wirceb.*),² que le second livre des *Inst.* a subi³ sur une copie qui quitta Vivarium postérieurement à l'insertion des extraits d'orthographe au *corpus* de grammaire.

La première partie des *Inst.*, consacrées aux sciences sacrées, forme avant tout un répertoire bibliographique d'exposés scripturaires, dressé en marge de la description des neuf volumes, entre lesquels

mus signifie vraisemblablement que Cassiodore avait fait copier ses *Inst.* en tête du *corpus* d'introductions. Mais ce n'est peut-être qu'une redondance qui insiste sur la directive, qu'il est dans l'ordre qu'après les *Inst.* les moines s'occupent des introductions à l'étude de l'Écriture.

¹ Elle informe le lecteur qu'il convient d'étudier ensuite les *Proverbes* et leurs commentateurs (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 1056 c; cf. *Inst.*, I, 4-5). On peut joindre cette note à la liste des ajoutées postérieures que j'ai relevées *supra*, p. 270. Dans les MSS, au dire de Garet (évidemment dans quelques-uns seulement), comme dans son édition, un résumé de l'exposé de Bède sur le *Cantique des Cantiques* (qui n'est pas de Juste d'Urgel, cf. D. De Bruyne, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 261, n. 1), a été annexé aux commentaires de Cassiodore, sans doute en raison de cette note, plutôt qu'il ne l'ait provoquée. Car elle est entièrement conçue dans le style et conforme à la manière de l'ex-ministre, qui, en l'absence de maîtres, s'évertuait à faciliter à ses moines l'étude de l'Écriture à l'aide de préfaces, d'annotations, de *corpus*, de renvois concernant l'ordre à suivre, etc.

² Les mots *ad cuius exemplaria* prouvent qu'il ne s'agit pas de cette habitude de Cassiodore de reviser et de déposer dans la bibliothèque de ses moines un archétype des œuvres très importantes, comme les *Psaumes* et le commentaire qu'il leur a consacré (cf. *Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 1115 D 14; 1130 A 10; 9 C 8). D'autre part, on saurait difficilement admettre que la tradition des *Inst.* se soit si profondément corrompue en moins de temps, que l'intervalle qui sépara à Vivarium la composition du *corpus* de grammaire de son premier remaniement; car sinon, pour la nouvelle édition Cassiodore ou ses moines auraient fait usage du texte authentique sur lequel l'interpolateur de la classe de *Wirceb.* a travaillé. Tout porte à croire que la suscription ne vient pas de Vivarium. Laubmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 93, a signalé qu'elle est écrite sur un grattage et il suppose que le texte effacé n'était autre que le début de la note qui suit (*supra* p. 284 n. 4). Pour ma part aussi, j'admettrais volontiers que celle-ci a pu amener le copiste du Mont-Cassin ou son maître, Paul diacre, à reconnaître et à signaler dans la source du *Bamb.*, la tradition de l'archétype des *Inst.*, dont le texte authentique comporte deux livres.

³ L. Spengel, *Philologus*, XVII (1861), 555-7, était déjà de cet avis, qu'on a trop négligé.

Cassiodore avait réparti un texte révisé de l'Écriture, ainsi qu'une nomenclature des principaux travaux des Pères de l'Église et des historiens chrétiens réunis par l'ex-ministre et que ses moines devaient approfondir. Mais la seconde partie leur apportait un aperçu sommaire des arts libéraux, les initiant à ces sciences profanes qu'ils pouvaient étudier ensuite dans les manuels plus développés que le seigneur de Squillace avait mis à leur disposition. Il est réconfortant de constater qu'à l'époque de Grégoire le Grand il s'est trouvé quelqu'un qui ait jugé trop maigre cet aperçu des arts libéraux.¹ Il l'a complété.² Au chapitre consacré à la grammaire, il a introduit un long passage du *De nuptiis* de Martianus Capella que Cassiodore re-

¹ Comme il possédait les monographies de Boèce, qui ne réapparaissent qu'à la fin du X^e siècle, ainsi que son commentaire perdu sur les *Topiques* d'Aristote (cf. *infra*, p. 292 n. 2 et p. 287), on pourrait difficilement fixer ce remaniement beaucoup plus tard qu'à la fin du VI^e siècle.

² H. Usener, 'Anecdota Holderi,' *Festschrift z. Begrüssung d. 32 Versamm'. dt. Philologenl.* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 2 ss., a le premier donné un aperçu des trois classes de MSS des *Inst.* Cf. F. Perschinka, *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnasien*, 1906, p. 315-323. Au sujet du premier remaniement (groupe de MSS du *Wirceb.*), cf. Laubmann, *Sitzungsber., München*, 1878, II, 71 ss.; P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 290 ss.; Bacherler, *Berliner philol. Wochenschr.*, 1922, p. 1217; Th. Stettner, *Philologus*, 1926, p. 241. Ci-dessous, je décris sommairement le contenu des trois classes de MSS du second livre des *Inst.*, en mettant en retrait les modifications propres aux deux dernières classes. Des crochets [] indiquent dans les grandes lignes les parties de l'œuvre authentique (classe du *Bamb.*) que son remaniement (classe du *Wirceb.*) a négligées; des crochets repliés < > les passages que celui-ci a interpolés. Des signes doubles mettent en évidence les éléments que la refonte de ce remaniement (classe de l'*Augiens. cri*) a ajoutés ou retranchés à celui-ci. Je mets entre parenthèses simples ou doubles les passages qui ont été déplacés par le premier ou le second remaniement. C'est celui-ci que Garet (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX) a pris comme base de son édition, tout en y introduisant quelques nouvelles modifications.

[1149-1151 B: 9]: Première partie de la préface des *Inst.*, II.

1151 B 10-1153 D 11: Seconde partie de la préface; ch. I, *De grammatica* (éd. Keil, *Gramm. lat.*, VII, 214).

(1153 D 12-15; [[Martian. Cap., §300-305, p. 130, 12, éd. Dick (Teubner, 1925); 1154 B 2-1157 B 10 = Mart. Cap., 305-316, p. 140, 1; Mart. Cap., 316 l.c.-324, p. 147, 3]]): Extraits de Mart. Capella.

<<(Halm, *Rhet. lat. min.*, p. 501, 5-16; 1157 B 14-1160 B 8 = Halm, p. 501, 17-504, 11)>>: Extraits de Quintilien.

1160 B 9-1167 B 15: ch. II, *De rhetorica* (éd. Halm, p. 495).

1167 C 1-1175 D 12: ch. III, *De dialectica* (sauf le paragraphe *De topicis*).

((-190 C 8-1192 C 5--)): paragraphe authentique *De topicis*, déplacé différemment dans les deux remaniements.

(1175 D 12-1190 C 8; 1196 A 13-1252 C 12): *De locis dialecticis et rhetoricis* = extraits de Boèce, *De topicis diff.*, *Patrol. lat.* LXIV, 1173 D 5-1196 A 15; 1208 C 1-1216 C 10.

1202 C 13-1203 B 8: liste des auteurs de logique, mais complétée par le premier remaniement.

grettait de ne point posséder.¹ Au lieu de l'aperçu des *Topiques* qu'il déplaça à la fin du traité (à la suite du chapitre sur l'astronomie), il a inséré la majeure partie des livres I-II et IV du *De topicis differentiis* de Boèce, en copiant même les références que l'auteur y fait à d'autres de ses ouvrages. A peu près les mêmes extraits du traité du Dernier des Romains ont trouvé place dans la tradition de ses monographies, qui sont restées hors d'usage jusqu'à la fin du x^e siècle.² Les deux interpolations sont-elles l'œuvre d'un même auteur? En tout cas, ce n'est point fortuitement que le passage authentique de Cassiodore sur les *topiques* a été déplacé. Car le début et la fin de ce texte encadrent aussi les extraits du traité de Boèce. Le texte déplacé est suivi d'un aperçu des formes des syllogismes dans les trois figures qui fait également double emploi avec l'exposé qu'en donne le chapitre sur le dialectique d'une liste des paralogismes de la première figure, d'extraits des *Argumenta paschalia* de Denys le Petit rédigés pour l'année 562, enfin d'un passage sur l'opposition des propositions. Ces matières hétéroclites font l'impression de notes crayonnées sur des feuilles restées en blanc à la fin d'un quaternion. Toutes les copies de ce remaniement présentent ensuite les *Praecepta artis rhetoricae* de Julius Severianus, suivis d'un passage *De dialecticis locis*,

((1190 c 4-1192 c 5)): paragraphe authentique *De topicis* déplacé ici.

((((1192 c 6-1196 A 12: *De syllogismis, De paralogismis, De propositionum modis*)))

(((*De dialecticis locis*, éd. Joh. Sichardus, *Disciplinarum liberalium orbis* (Bâle, 1528) n^o 41-43))).

1203 B 9-1214 A 2: chap. IV-VI, *De arithmetica, De musica, De geometria.*

((1214 A 3-1216 B 12)): *Principia geometricae disciplinae.*

1216 B 14-1220 A 2: chap. VII, *De astronomia.*

[*Conclusio*, éd. Maï, *Class. auct.*, t. III (Rome, 1831, p. 350 ss.)

(((-1190 c 4-1192 c 5; 1202 c 13-D 10-)): passage authentique *De topicis* déplacé ici par le premier remaniement, et replacé plus haut par le second.

((((1192 c 6-1195 A 15))) : *De syllogismis, De paralogismis*, passages insérés par le 1^{er} remaniement et déplacés plus haut par le 2^d.

[[*Patrol. lat.*, LIX, 1249 = éd. P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 297]]: *Computus a. 562.*

((((1195, B 1-1196 A 12))) : *De propositionum modis*, passage inséré par le premier remaniement et déplacé plus haut par le second.

[[*J. Seueriani Praecepta artis rhetoricae*]].

(((*De dialecticis locis*, éd. Joh. Sichardus, *loc. cit.*))).

¹ Cf. Laubmann, *loc. cit.* p. 88.

² Cf. mon étude sur 'Les Etapes du Développement philosophique du Haut-Moyen-Age,' *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1929, p. 425-452, et spécialement p. 429, n. 1.

composé surtout d'extraits du *De topicis differentiis* de Boèce et qui cite une autre de ses monographies, le *De divisione*. En raison de la similitude des sources des passages interpolés et annexés (notamment les deux monographies de Boèce), il est vraisemblable que c'est l'auteur des remaniements qui a formé ce petit *corpus*, auquel ces extraits variés prêtent un caractère déjà médiéval.

L'interpolateur qui s'intéressait avant tout à la rhétorique et à la dialectique, disposait aussi d'un plus grand nombre d'œuvres de Boèce que n'en connaissait Cassiodore. Il remanie, en effet, la liste que l'ex-ministre dressa des auteurs classiques de logique,¹ en remplaçant les mentions des travaux de Marius Victorinus par celles des œuvres similaires du Dernier des Romains, qui à l'époque de l'interpolateur avaient sans doute mis hors d'usage les écrits de logique de l'Africain. Cassiodore ne cite de Boèce que le *II In Isag.* et le *II In Περὶ ἐρμηνείας*. Le texte remanié mentionne, en outre, les *I In Isag.*, *In Cat.*,² *I In Περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, *De hyp. syllog.*, *In Cic. Top.*, *In Arist. Top.* Ce dernier commentaire est perdu, tout comme ceux sur les *Analytiques*, qui ne sont pas mentionnés ici. Sauf le *De hyp. syllog.*, l'interpolateur ne cite pas davantage les monographies, ni en particulier le *De top. diff.* et le *De divisione*, dont il a cependant fait usage, apparemment, parce qu'il s'est tenu dans les limites du texte des *Inst.* Si Cassiodore eut révisé cette liste, il ne se serait pas contenté de coller le nom de Boèce sur celui de son devancier; il n'aurait pas biffé la mention du *De definitionibus* de Victorin qu'il appréciait tant³ et

¹ On peut la lire chez Laubmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 85; le texte remanié, 1202 D 14.—J'ai déjà rappelé que Cassiodore ne possédait pas l'encyclopédie de Martianus Capella, qui pourtant avait été rééditée en 531 par le professeur de rhétorique de la ville de Rome, Securus Memor Felix. Si l'auteur des *Inst.* a fait traduire le traité de musique de Gaudentius, c'est qu'il était dépourvu de celui, plus développé, de Boèce, qu'il ne mentionne même pas, bien qu'il ait utilisé et cité les autres travaux que le 'Dernier des Romains' consacra au *quadrivium* (*De inst. arithm.* et traité de géométrie).

² Comme la traduction de l'*Isagoge* par Victorin est conservée en partie dans le premier commentaire de Boèce sur ce traité, nous pouvons constater que Cassiodore a utilisé la traduction de son contemporain. La variante *diversa* que les *Inst.* ont en commun avec Boèce dans la définition des *aequivoca*, pour laquelle nous possédons peut-être la version des *Catégories* par Victorin (*I In Isag.*, éd. Brandt, p. 17, 21: *alia*), m'engage à en dire autant pour ce traité et m'a fait supposer que l'ex-ministre a pu faire usage d'une édition séparée de la traduction boétienne des trois premiers traités de l'*Organon*, puisqu'il ne mentionne pas l'*In Cat.* de Boèce.

³ Dans son commentaire sur les *Psaumes*, il cite sans cesse les différents genres de définitions

qui faisait partie de son *corpus* de *text-books* (*auctores*) de logique; surtout, il n'aurait pas supprimé la mention de ce recueil, alors qu'il précisa à plusieurs reprises la description des *corpus* de grammaire et de rhétorique.¹ Ce détail, surtout, prouve que l'interpolateur, qui ne visait qu'à fournir une liste plus complète de traités de logique, n'appartenait pas à la fondation de Vivarium. On ne pourrait admettre que les émules de Cassiodore aient abandonné la tradition de leur maître au point d'avoir négligé le premier livre des *Inst.* et le début de la préface qui y rattache le second, tout comme la *conclusio* qui termine le traité,² bien des détails qui caractérisent la manière du fondateur de Vivarium,³ et jusqu'à son nom dans le titre de ce remaniement, qui modifie toute l'orientation de l'œuvre de l'ex-ministre, en s'attachant exclusivement à l'étude des arts libéraux.

J'accorde peu de valeur à la date de la rédaction des extraits des *Argumenta paschalia* de Denys le Petit (562) pour établir le *terminus ante quem* de la composition des *Inst.*⁴ Dans la plupart des manuscrits de comput, les évaluations chronologiques sont recopiées

et dans les *Inst.*, 1173-1175, il résume largement cette œuvre de Victorin, qui ne réapparut, comme les monographies de Boèce, qu'à la fin du X^e siècle. L'interpolateur ne la possédait sans doute point.

¹ Cf. *supra* p. 277.

² En effet, tous les MSS de ce remaniement ne possèdent que le second livre des *Inst.*, ayant trait aux arts libéraux. Ce sont le *Wirceb.*, s. VIII/IX, *Augiens*, clxxi, s. IX in., décrit par A. Holder, *Die Reichenauer Hss.* (Karlsruhe, 1906), t. I; *Paris 2200*, s. IX ex.; *Ambros. D 17 inf.*, s. 1462, reproduit par un incunable milanais, Hain, n° 7305 (Cf. P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI, p. 291 ss.).

³ P. ex. 1152 c 9-13, l'interpolateur a négligé la mention que Cassiodore fait du *De grammatica* d'Augustin, sans doute, parce qu'elle déclare que ce traité a été composé 'propter simplicitatem fratrum breviter instruendum . . . ne quid rudibus deesse videatur.' Apparemment, notre interpolateur n'était pas partisan de la *simplicitas*. Ou bien estimait-il que cette œuvre n'est pas d'Augustin? Cf. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, IV, 2, p. 414. (Cependant, cette remarque figure dans le *Paris*. 8679: cf. *infra* p. 291 n. 3. A-t-elle été réinscrite dans une partie de cette tradition on plutôt négligée postérieurement au second remaniement?

⁴ P. Lehmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 290 ss. Cependant R. L. Poole, *Engl. Hist. Review*, XXXIII, (1918), 210-213, (cf. p. 61); *Proceedings of the British Academy*, X (1922), 120, (cf. G. Lapeyre, *St. Fulgence de Ruspe* [Paris, 1929] p. 110, n. 6), opine avec vraisemblance, que le *Feliz Abbas Ghyllitanus* (cf. B. Krusch, *Papstum u. Kaisertum. Forschungen P. Kehr . . . dargebracht*, Munich, 1926, p. 53), qui en 616 continua le comput paschal de Denys le Petit pour les années 627-721, était un abbé de Vivarium (*Scyllitanus*). Cf. *supra* p. 254 n. 3. Quoique le comput du célèbre chronologiste qui semble avoir passé ses dernières années à Vivarium, ne paraît avoir été que fort peu répandu en 562, il n'est pas exclu qu'on s'en soit occupé encore ailleurs. Le résumé en question peut d'ailleurs provenir du monastère de Cassiodore et avoir été annexé

sans être mises à jour.¹ Ces extraits peuvent fort bien avoir été empruntés à un autre MS., et même, avec les bribes de matières de logique qui les entourent (1192 c 6—1196 A 12), avoir été apposés sur une fin de quaternion par un auteur distinct de l'interpolateur. En tout cas, ce n'est pas à Vivarium, en 562, — Cassiodore étant encore en vie —, ni même plus tard, qu'ils ont pu être annexés à ce remaniement des *Inst.* qui en constitue un véritable travesti. Il est même peu vraisemblable que l'ouvrage d'un contemporain ait subi ailleurs un pareil sort. Enfin, tous les arguments que j'ai fait valoir pour établir que le monastère de Vivarium ne fut fondé qu'après 550 contribuent à reculer la composition des *Inst.* pour le moins jusqu'en 560 en raison de l'ampleur de l'œuvre qu'elles décrivent. Or, nous venons de constater qu'à plusieurs reprises Cassiodore pourvut encore son traité d'annotations complémentaires, dont nous possédons les dernières traces dans le texte authentique sur lequel l'interpolateur du *Wirceb.* a travaillé. Ces retouches reflètent en partie les modifications que l'ex-ministre fit subir successivement à ses *corpus*. On peut les rapprocher de son édition du *De orth.*, qui vit le jour vers 573—578 si Cassiodore naquit un peu plus tôt (480—485) que la date (490) proposée par Mommsen.²

Le *Wirceb.*, s. VIII—IX, a appartenu au monastère irlandais de St Kilian, près de Wurzburg. C'est aussi d'après cette tradition qu'Alcuin fit usage des *Inst.*, tandis que vers 630 Isidore de Séville n'utilisait que la rédaction authentique.³

Par la suite, au IX—X^e siècle, le second livre des *Inst.* a été répandu dans un nouveau remaniement qui a corrigé quelques uns des défauts les plus apparents du premier. En particulier, cette nouvelle rédaction a déplacé à la fin du chapitre consacré à la dialectique, les

ailleurs au remaniement des *Inst.* Sinon, comme témoins de l'activité des moines de Vivarium nous ne possédons plus que les commentaires expurgés de Pélagé sur les Epîtres de St Paul et peut-être *Une Compilation antiarienne inédite sous le nom de St Augustin issue du milieu de Cassiodore* découverte par Dom G. Morin, *Rev. bénédictine*, 1914, pp. 237—243. Cf. O. Dobiache —Rojdestvensky, 'Le codex Q. v. I, 6—10 de la Bibliothèque publique de Leningrad,' *SPECULUM* 1930, pp. 21—48.

¹ J'en citerai de nombreux exemples dans un travail sur les *corpus* de comput. de géométrie, et d'astronomie du Haut Moyen-Age.

² Cf. Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

³ Cf. mon étude citée *supra* p. 287 n. 2, aux pages 429—431.

matières se rapportant à cette branche et que le premier remaniement avait reléguées à la fin du traité, c. à d. à la suite du chapitre relatif à l'astronomie. Elle a supprimé en même temps les extraits des *Argumenta paschalia* de Denys le Petit et remplacé ceux du *De nuptiis* par quelques passages tirés des *Inst.* de Quintilien. Enfin, elle a complété le chapitre consacré à la géométrie, en y annexant quelques extraits de la traduction que Boèce avait donnée des *Eléments* d'Euclide.¹

De même que les manuscrits de la classe du *Wirceb.*, les copies qui contiennent sa refonte revêtent la forme d'un petit *corpus*, en raison des extraits qui ont été annexés à ce second livre des *Inst.* et qui proviennent surtout des œuvres de St Augustin. Comme l'*Augiens.* cvii, s. x, présente en dernier lieu l'*Anecdoton Holderi*, H. Usener,² supposant que cet extrait de l'*Ordo generis* de Cassiodore ne fait défaut dans les autres manuscrits que parce qu'ils sont incomplets de la fin,³ admettait que cet ensemble de textes et ce second remaniement pouvaient dater encore du vi^e siècle.⁴ Avec plus de raison que le comput de 562, on pourrait invoquer ce texte rare⁵ pour faire remonter à Vivarium cette refonte du premier remaniement. Mais tous les arguments que nous avons fait valoir contre cette thèse pour le premier remaniement sont applicables au second. De plus, celui-ci est sans doute postérieur à l'abandon de Vivarium au vii^e siècle. L'*Anecdoton* ne figure d'ailleurs pas dans le *Carnut. 102 (Chapitre)*,

¹ On trouve encore de semblables extraits dans un remaniement du viii/ix^e s. du *Corpus agrimensorum* et dans une compilation de géométrie de la même époque. Le second remaniement des *Inst.* ne sera pas plus récent. Car, ce sont là les seuls restes que nous possédions de la traduction de Boèce que le texte authentique des *Inst.* mentionne, mais que même Gerbert ne possédait déjà plus. Cf. C. Thulin, dans Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.* iii^e (Leipzig, 1916), §478; N. Bubnov, *Gerberti op. math.* (Berlin, 1899), p. 554, ad p. x et ss., et p. 164.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

³ Dans la description de l'*Augiens.* cvii, par A. Holder *Die Reichenauer Hss.*, t. I (1906), on trouvera indiqué le contenu des *Valentian. 172*, s. ix, *Bern. 212, 234*, s. ix/x et *Sangall 199*, s. x. — Je signalerai, que le *Paris. 8679*, s. x, finit avec 1208 c 7; le *Paris. 13048 (Corbien.)*, s. ix., f^o 59-77, se termine avec l'extrait: August., *Contra Priscill.*; le *12963 (Corbien.)*, s. ix/x, va, avec la fin de la dernière feuille, jusqu'au *Carmen de ventis*, comme le MS. de Valenciennes.

⁴ A ce propos, il faut se rappeler aussi qu'Usener fixait la fondation de Vivarium vers 540.

⁵ Cependant, Schepps, *Neues Archiv.*, xi (1886), 125, (cf. J. Draeseke, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, xxxi [1888], 94-104), a trouvé la notice que l'*Anecdoton* consacre à Symmaque, le beau-père de Boèce, dans trois manuscrits d'un commentaire sur le *De consolatione philosophiae*.

s. X, qui sinon reproduit intégralement le *corpus* de l'*Augiens.* CVI.¹ Il se pourrait dès lors que cet extrait n'ait pas été inséré dans l'archétype de notre tradition.

Ces deux remaniements du second livre des *Inst.* qui au IX-X^e siècle prirent place parmi les résumés encyclopédiques des arts libéraux et servirent à de nouvelles compilations, reflètent le faible développement des premiers siècles du Moyen-Age qui laissèrent se perdre¹ ou négligèrent² les traités originaux, trop développés, dont quelqu'isolé s'était borné à faire des extraits.

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¹ La liste des tons musicaux en grec qui précède l'*Anecd.* a été empruntée au *De inst. musica* de Boèce qu'elle mentionne et qui n'a été repandu avant le X^e siècle que peu ou point, se termine au f^o 61^v —le deuxième du quaternion—, 9 lignes avant la fin de la page. La même main a recopié f^o 62 ss. un *De grammatica* par questions et réponses et des extraits d'une compilation d'arithmétique et de comput, s. VIII/IX, qu'on retrouve dans le *Turon.* 334, s. IX med., f^o 20-26^v = *Paris.* 16361 (*Sorbonne*), s. XII, ainsi que dans de nombreux MSS. Je m'en occuperai dans un ouvrage sur les *corpus* du Haut Moyen-Age.

² Notamment, l'*In Arist. Top.* de Boèce (qui peut-être n'a été connu de l'interpolateur de la classe du *Wirceb.* que par la mention qu'en fait l'*In Cic. Top.*) et la traduction des *Elem.* d'Euclide.

³ P. ex., les monographies de Boèce avant la fin du X^e siècle, tout comme ses commentaires avant le début du X^e siècle; cf. *supra* p. 288.

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<i>No. and page in MS.</i>	<i>No., Vol., and Col. in Migne</i>	<i>Col. No. in Sacrum Brev.</i>	<i>No. in the original text as established by Wiegand</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Beginning</i>
I 9a	5, 76, 1095		I 5	In dominica tertia adventus Domini.	Gregory	Quaerendum est nobis. The MS. begins with <i>demonstrare</i> (1097, 37)
II 9b	13, 76, 1099	144	I 8	In dominica quarta.	Gregory	Ex huius nobis
III 11b	17, 95, 1162	157	I 15	In vigilia nativitatis Domini.	Origen	Quae fuit necessitas
IV 14a	18, 76, 1103	182	I 24	In nocte nativitatis Domini.	Gregory	Quia largiente
V 14b	20, 94, 34	183	I 25	In eadem sancta nocte vel aurora.	Bede	Nato in Bethleem
VI 16b	21, 94, 38	184	I 26	In die sancto.	Bede	Quia temporalem
VII 19b	42, 95, 1179 Also in <i>Patr. Graeco-Lat.</i> 13, 1839 in Jerome's translation ¹		I 41	In dominica intra octavam natalis Christi.	Origen	Congregemus in unum
VIII 22b	45, 94, 53	290	I 40	In circumcissione Domini.	Bede	Sanctam venerandamque
IX 25b	48, 76, 1110	325	I 48	In epiphania Domini.	Gregory	Sicut in lectione
X 27b	50, 94, 74	348	I 49	Infra octavam epiphaniae.	Bede	Johannes Baptista ²
XI 29b	52, 94, 63		I 59	In dominica prima post epiphaniam, infra octavam.	Bede	Aperta est nobis
XII 32a	53, 94, 68	438	I 60	In dominica II post epiphaniam.	Bede	Quod Dominus . . . The frg. ends with <i>nabuconosor</i> (72, 10)

¹ The end of this discourse, from *Et ut perfecerunt . . . nomine commendat* (95, 1184, 56-95, 1185, 26) occurs also in vol. 94, 341, 28-58, with only very slight variations.

² The passage from *in salutem* (Col. 75, 17) to *Baptizat quoque* (Col. 77, 23) was on the leaf which is missing from the MS.

NOTES

THE URBANA MS. OF THE HOMILIARIUM OF PAULUS DIACONUS

In July 1928, in a bookstall along the quay on the left bank of the Seine in Paris, was found and purchased for the University of Illinois Library, by W. A. Oldfather, a considerable fragment of a parchment MS. containing a collection of sermons, which was quickly recognized by the scholarly eye of Mr C. U. Faye of the Library Staff, to be the *Homiliarium* of Paulus Diaconus.

The MS. consists of 23 leaves in three signatures, marked B, C, D (in a hand of the fourteenth or the fifteenth century), of which the first two are complete (despite an error in the contemporary pagination, skipping from fol. xxiii to fol. xxv, although the signature is intact and there is no break in the text), while the third has lost its third leaf, fol. xxviii (or D iii) having been cut out at an early date, and the other half of the double leaf, fol. xxi, being pasted in. The entire first signature is missing, as likewise an unknown number of signatures from the end. The handwriting seems to be French of the late twelfth century, very beautiful and regular but without notable characteristics of any kind. The call number is *xq 264.6 P28h*.

The number of MSS of the *Homiliarium* known to scholars is not very large. F. Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen* (Leipzig, 1897) has a list of 15 (p. 5-10), to which C. Cipolla, *Note bibliografiche, etc.* (Venice, 1901), 15 f., adds a few from England, and M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911), 267, one from Bamberg. Since the *Homiliarium* was extremely influential directly for many centuries, and is still influential indirectly, and since the history of the enlargements and contractions of the work is not at all thoroughly known, a brief table of contents and correspondences may not be inappropriate here.

As to the value of our fragment for purposes of textual criticism, little can be said until more is known about the older and standard MSS. Where Migne's edition quotes a few MS. readings (especially for the sermons published in vol. LXXVI) the *Urbanensis* agrees now with one group and now with another, but the total number of citations is quite too small to enable one to make any classification of the MSS whatsoever.

There are no glosses or scholia, and but a very small number of corrections by a second hand. The spelling in general is inferior, and the ordinary slight errors of none too careful copying abound. Occasionally a somewhat fuller form of text appears. This is commonly due to mere padding, as

in LXXVI, 1101, 11: 'haec mysterium annuntians' (Migne), compared with 'hec misterium nostri redemptoris adnuntians' (*Urb.*); or in xcv, 1181, 2, where after the words 'in resurrectionem multarum in Israel' (Migne) is added, from the end of the same verse in the Vulgate (Luke ii, 34) 'et in signum cui contradicetur' (*Urb.*), although the discourse pays no attention whatever to these last words of the verse, and obviously had not quoted them.

But such is not always the case. There is clearly an incomplete sentence in a sermon by Bede (xciv, 71, 40 [Migne]) running: 'Audiens enim quanta sit virtus obedientiae, quanta mercede remuneretur, et ipse obedientiam discere atque habere satagis.' Here it would be very simple to restore *mercedem* before *habere*, but since the context is an elaborate allegory about the six vessels (repeatedly called *hydriae*) of purification placed by the Jews at the entrance to the Temple, the addition in the *Urb.* of the words 'hydriam atque invenisti qua munderis' may suggest what is missing (although perhaps not in exactly this form), in view of the quite similar expression used a few lines above (30-32) 'hydriam profecto aquae, qua mundaretur vel reficeretur, invenit.' Again in LXXVI, iii, 22, the introduction of *gemina* with *scientia* makes a reading so difficult that it is hard to see in it a mere gloss, one also, by the way, which is attested in other MSS; although, a few lines further on, the variation *in adiutorium* for *ad adiutorium* of Migne's text is pretty clearly an attempt to improve upon the original.

In at least one instance, however, the *Urb.* unquestionably preserves the correct reading against the text of Migne's reprint of the 'worthless Cologne edition of 1539' (Wiegand, 2). That is in the quotation from *Gen.* III, 6, in a sermon by Origen (xcv, 1181, 36 ff.) where the text reads, 'Vidit, inquit, mulier lignum quia bonum erat ad comedendum et optimum oculis ad vescendum. . . .' But Origen of course quoted the *lxx* which at this point, had, as correctly translated by Jerome (*Patr. Graeco-Lat.* XIII, 1141, 41ff.), 'Vidit mulier lignum, quia bonum ad comedendum, et optimum oculis ad videndum . . . (*ἀρεστόν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν*)', and that is precisely the reading of the *Urb.* (except *obtinum* for *optimum*). The *vescendum* of the printed text derives from the *Vulg.* which runs 'quod bonum esset lignum ad vescendum et pulchrum oculis,' and it was doubtless the memory of this version which produced the absurd reading in the Migne edition of Paulus.

One such sound reading is sufficient to show that the *Urb.* is not entirely worthless even for questions of textual criticism, but a further study of it may well be left to the future editor of the *Homiliarium*. A complete collation of the fragment, prepared by Inez G. Lough, is catalogued in the Library along with the MS. itself, and will be lent to anyone who is interested.

W. A. OLDFATHER
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THE POEM *EX UNGUE PRIMO TENERAM*¹

THE account given of the contents of this poem by its discoverer: 'die Vorwürfe eines offenbar recht jungen Liebhabers gegen seine noch jüngere Freundin' hardly seems to me to give a true impression.

The lover had brought up the young Lyce 'ut . . . aetatem circa puberem . . . caperem primicias pudoris' (v.1). But he had been disappointed: 'fovisti viros gremio' . . . (v.2). He had made some sort of a rule (v.3). But the girl, 'licet parvula, votum femineum explevit' (v.4). So, 'pubertatem . . . dum stultior experior, virum viro (?) nosti, et doleo.' (v.5.)

Now verse 3 runs:

'Me meo memini
Scripsisse legem virgini,
Pro foribus astaret,
Ne molestum virgini
Profundius intraret.'

'I laid down a law (for the girl) that she (?) was to stop at the threshold, lest what was troublesome to the girl should enter more deeply.' This seems nonsense. Surely it is the *molestum virgini* which was to stay at the threshold and not enter deeply. If so, the subject to *astaret* is concealed in *virgini*, which is, apart from this doubly suspicious: (1) *meo* has nothing to agree with; (2) *virgini* can hardly rhyme with *virgini*. Considering the subobscene tenor of the poem, it is fairly obvious what is the *molestum virgini*: it ends in *-ini* and could be easily mistaken in the MS. for *virgini*. Read *inguini* in its euphemistic sense, and every requirement is satisfied, while the point of *pro foribus* and *profundius* becomes only too obvious.

There seems also to be something wrong with line III, 7 — 'virum viro nosti,' but it is hardly a simple case of the copyist mistaking one word for another: he probably inadvertently wrote *vir-* twice over, so that correction becomes mere guess-work: perhaps *cito* is better than *viro*.

I should like in conclusion to express a wish that similar lyric poems might be published with the music, when this is preserved: I think it a great mistake to study the metres without reference to the tunes to which they were intended to be sung.

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¹ *Speculum* v (1930) p. 433.

NOTES ON KING ALFRED'S NORTH: *OSTI*, *ESTE*

IN *SPECULUM* V (1930), 139-167, Professor K. Malone has devoted an extensive study to the first chapter of King Alfred's *Orosius*. This chapter is of considerable interest to the investigator of Slavic antiquities on account of its references to various West Slavic and Baltic tribes. With many of Professor Malone's locations there is no occasion to quarrel. His treatment of the *Osti* (pp. 155-156), however, suggests certain reservations. The passage of Alfred in which this tribe is mentioned runs as follows (H. Sweet, *King Alfred's Orosius*, 1 [London, 1883], 16):

'Norðdene habbað be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm þe mon hæf Ostsæ, ond be eastan him sindon *Osti* þa leode, ond Afrede be suþan. *Osti* habbað be norþan him þone ilcan sæs arm ond Winedas, ond Burgendan; ond de suþan him sindon Hæfeldan . . . Sweon habbað be suþan him þone sæs earm *Osti*; ond be eastan him Serrende.'

Professor Malone judges from this passage that the *Osti* were a coastal tribe (p. 155), and wishes to locate them at the estuary of the Oder. The third occurrence of *Osti* in the above passage he interprets as equivalent to *Ostsæ* (p. 156). Then, in treating its derivation (p. 155 n.), he characterizes *Osti* as a 'loan-word from Old Norse, with the \bar{o} representing ON. *au*' (based on E. Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*, 3rd edit., [Halle, 1898], par. 26 Anm.). As in his article 'The *Widsith* and the *Hervararsaga*' (*P.M.L.A.*, XL [1925], 792), Professor Malone considers 'the hypothetical ON. original as a short form of the Ostrogothic name.' 'The Ostrogoths,' he adds, 'were originally settled at the mouth of the Vistula, but at an early period the Ostrogothic realm was extended by conquest westward to the Oder. In consequence, the Ostrogothic name, in its shortened form, seems to have been applied (by the Scandinavians at least) to all relics of the old East Germanic population along the south shore of the Baltic.'

We are here dealing with the geographical situation which prevailed in the last two decades, or, at most, in the last half, of the ninth century. The Goths began to move southeast from the mouth of the Vistula about the end of the second century, and this migration toward the Ukraine continued during the next hundred years. While I am disposed to follow Jordanes only in so far as his highly legendary account is supported by other sources or by unimpeachable archaeological evidence, I see no reason to question his very positive statement (*M. G. H.*, SS. AA., v, 78) that the division into Ostrogoths and Visigoths took place after the Goths arrived in South Russia. F. Kaufmann (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, II, 17) thus remarks: 'Die Gruppen wurden schon früh im 3. Jahrh. geographisch geschieden und in dem Raum zwischen Don und Dnjestr [Dnjepr] Austrogoti (Ostgoten), zwischen Dnjepr und Dnjestr *Wisi* (später *Wisigoti*), genannt.'

Or, as L. Schmidt asserts (*Gesch. der germ. Vorzeit* [Bonn, 1925], 198), with a somewhat different interpretation: 'Als Folge der Besetzung Daciens ergab sich die Spaltung der Goten in zwei Stämme, West—(richtiger Wisigoten, auch Terwinger genannt, und Ost—(richtiger Ostro-) goten oder Greutungen, von der zuerst 269 in den Quellen die Rede ist.'¹ The exact locus of this division is of minor importance for this critique beyond the fact that it definitely did not take place on the Baltic. The chances that this division and the resulting terminology should have had any reaction on the appellations attached to Pomeranian tribes in the ninth century are thus comparatively slender.

As to the survival of any East Germanic population on the south shore of the Baltic between Oder and Vistula in the eighth and ninth centuries, the historical facts are equally unfavorable to Professor Malone's thesis. At the present day, even the most rabid opponents of the Danzig corridor cannot adduce evidence of German cultural influence along the Baltic coast east of the Oder later than the seventh century.² Furthermore, scientific German authorities do not even go this far; as F. Kaufmann remarks (*op. cit.*, II, 148): 'die ostgermanischen Landschaften haben ihre eingessene Bevölkerung fast bis auf den letzten Mann abgegeben. Als das 5. Jahrh. zur Neige ging, gab es jenseits der Elbe keine Germanen mehr. Ostdeutschland wurde wendisch.' By the sixth century, the Slavs had filled this vacuum, and the most that can be said for Germanic remnants is Müllenhoff's supposition that 'es ergab sich daraus für gewisse Zeiten in jenen Gegenden eine gemischte Bevölkerung' (*Deutsche Alt.*, II, 372), but hardly beyond the seventh century. A further indication that Slavic tribes occupied the seacoast between Oder and Vistula is Wulfstan's statement (*Sweet, op. cit.*, p. 20): 'Weonodland was us ealne weg on steorbord oð Wislemuðan. Seo Wisle . . . tolið Witland ond Weonodland, ond þæt Witland belimpeð to Estum.' In other words, the Vistula was the frontier between Slavs and *Este*. Immediately to the west of the Oder, in the ninth century, lived the various tribes composing the Velti (or Luticians; cf. Adam of Bremen, III, 21; Anonymus Bavarus, in J. Safařík, *Slov. Star.*, II, 711; L. Niederle, *Slov. Star.* III, 132-139, and sources there cited). The quadrangle between Oder, Netze, and Vistula was inhabited in the ninth century by the Pomeranians (cf. Adam of Bremen, IV, 13). They were traditionally the least advanced and the most ferocious of the Slavs adjacent to Poland, and were not subjected to the latter until ca. 995.³ In

¹ Cf. also T. F. Karsten, *Die Germanen* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 216-217.

² Cf. E. Keyser, *Der Kampf um die Weichsel* (Berlin, 1926), p. 39, and *ibid.*: 'An dem Zurückbleiben germanischer Kulturträger bis über die Mitte des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausends, also bis zur Einwanderung der Slaven in die Gebiete zwischen Weichsel und Elbe, ist nicht zu zweifeln.'

fact, there is no historical evidence whatever to justify the assumption that there were any 'relics of east Germanic population' in this area when Alfred's informants skirted its edge.

From the standpoint of historical geography, there does not appear any reason to dissociate the *Osti* from the *Aestii* of Tacitus, the *Aesti* of Jordanes, the *Estes* of Wulfstan, and the *Eistir* of the Sagas. It will be clear, I think, from Alfred's narrative that the *Este* are clearly distinguished from the Finns, whom Ohthere knew as *Beormas*. The Slavs of the Upper Dnieper basin were, in fact, traditionally cut off from the Baltic since earliest times by the Lithuanian tribes to the north of the Narev and the Pripet. The problem of the form *Osti* would be nicely solved if we could follow L. Niederle (*op. cit.*, IV, 43) in identifying as Lithuanians the *Ἰσθιαῖοι* of Pytheas (*ca.* 300 B.C.);¹ it is not entirely certain, however, that we can locate on the Baltic the tribe thus denominated, in view of the textual difficulties of a passage in Strabo (I, 4, 3), which has been sometimes taken as referring to the *Ἰσθιαῖοι*. Two points may, in any case, be regarded as established; the *Osti* have no possible connection with the Ostrogoths and, if located either at the mouth of the Oder (where Professor Malone places them) or anywhere eastward or westward of this estuary, they cannot have been German at this period.

The suggestion may therefore be put forward that the Alfredian passage in question requires an interpretation differing somewhat from the one Professor Malone places upon it. We should perhaps read *him* in the clause 'ond be eastan him sindon *Osti*' as dat. sing. referring to *Ostsæ*, and thus translate: 'The North Danes have to their north the same arm of the sea which is called the *Ostsæ*, and to the east of the latter the *Osti* are the inhabitants,' which accords rather better with the northeasterly slant of the Baltic coast from Königsberg to the Gulf of Riga. The *Osti* then, as Alfred goes on to say, actually have to their approximate north the *Ostsæ*, the *Winedas* of Pomerania, and the inhabitants of Bornholm. Similarly, in the sentence '*Osti* habbað be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm, ond Winedas ond Burgendan; ond be suþan *him* sindom Hæfeldan,' *him* should be taken as referring not to *Osti*, but to *Winedas* ond *Burgendan*, thus placing the Hæfeldan at the proper point in the interior south of the coastal Wends. By these interpretations, we locate the Lithuanian *Osti* where they belong historically. It is also more than likely that the third occurrence of *Osti* in the passage cited at the beginning of this Note is a scribal error to the

¹ Cf. my article 'Scandinavian-Polish Relations in the Late Tenth Century,' in *Studies in Honor of H. Collitz* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 134-135.

² *Ἰσθιαῖοι, ἔθνος παρὰ τῷ δυτικῷ ὠκεῶν . . . οὗ Πυθέας Ἰσθιαῖοι προσαγορεύει* (A. Westermann, *Stephani Byzantini Ἑθνικῶν Quae Supersunt* [Leipzig, 1899], pp. 318-319).

extent that some copyist, having just written *Osti* twice, miswrote it a third time for *Ostæ*; there is thus no need to explain it as a doublet for the latter.

It is, of course, apparent that by regarding *Osti* and *Este* as identical we produce two terms for the same people in the same source. This duplication appears explicable, however, though such etymological exercises with non-Germanic proper names are shots in the dark at best. If we assume for this name the primitive form **Aistīs* (nom. plur. i-stem, cf. mod. Lith. *Lėtuvs*: *y=ī*), this would give an early Germanic **Aistīz*, which would appear naturally enough in ON. as the extant form *Eistir*. If, however, through the influence of analogy, this form were felt by its users to be the result of i-umlaut like *eystra*, it would be associated with an original **Austir*. At this point, a confusion with 'austr,' 'east,' (the form *Eystir* proves that this confusion was operative), took place in ON., and if the borrowing into primitive OE. or Old Saxon occurred at this juncture, the preservation of the form *Osti* in OS. would be normal. It is also striking that a parallel development of two sets of forms derived respectively from **Austi* and from *Osti* seems to have occurred in Ags. In the first case, we have the line **Austi > *Easti > *Iesti > *Ysti, Iste* (*Widsith*, 87); a form *Eastas* showing early operation of analogy with *east* also occurs. In the second case, we have *Osti > *Este > Este*, the last being the normal WS. form. The course of the borrowing appears to have run from Gothic (**Aisteis*) to ON. to OE. and OS., and there seems to be no basis for proceeding beyond the hypothesis that we have in *Osti* an accidentally preserved OS. form. In view of the fact that Alfred's notion of Europe beyond the Vistula was obviously of the haziest, the coexistence of *Osti-Este* side by side is by no means surprising.

R. W. Chambers (*Widsith* [Cambridge, 1912], p. 248) rightly points out that the *Eistir* of the Sagas does not refer to the *Aestii* of Tacitus, but to the Finnish Esthonians. It is apparent, however, from the Russian *Primary Chronicle* that Lithuanian tribes originally extended up the Baltic coast to the Gulf of Finland, though isolated Finnish elements seem to have penetrated toward the seaboard comparatively early, since the *Fenni* were vaguely known to Tacitus. Progressive Finnish settlement in Esthonia and Kurland occurred in all likelihood only after the interior Finns were confronted with a Slavic advance into the basins of the Lovat and the Dvina, and therefore presumably later than the fifth or the sixth century. The migrant Finns then seem to have acquired the name of the adjacent or displaced *Aestii*, whose own tribal designations replaced this appellation as applied to the Baltic element itself further to the southwest.

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REVIEWS

The Cambridge Mediaeval History. Planned by J. B. Bury; edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previt -Orton, Z. N. Brooke. Volume VI., *Victory of the Papacy.* New York: MacMillan Company; Cambridge: University Press. 1929. Pp. xli, 1047. \$14.00.

'BOOKS, we know, are a substantial world,' wrote Wordsworth. One wonders, if he had lived in these days, what he would have thought of these massive volumes of polyscholarship. The present volume of this notable series exhibits better joining and mortising together of the component chapters than any which has preceded it. For in some of the previous volumes the gulf between the parts has sometimes been as wide as a church door. It is no mean triumph of the editors to have been able to impart so much homogeneity, though, of course, the nature of the period has helped them. For the thirteenth century was not one of transition, but of completion. As Mr Previt -Orton has written in his masterly introduction: 'Themes common to all the middle ages find their fullest expression in it.' The history and the culture of the thirteenth century was fundamentally one. Even in the case of the minor countries, as Spain, Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, it is finely said 'there is an intrinsic likeness in their most aberrant shapes.'

Of the twenty-two contributors, seven are foreign, and of the twenty-five chapters, the first thirteen may be denominated political history and the last twelve cultural history. The volume appropriately opens with a chapter upon Innocent III by Mr E. F. Jacob, whose grasp of this great theme is strong. Yet if the reader really wishes to get a rounded appreciation of the great pontiff he will have to consult Chapters II, III, IV on the Empire; chapters VII and IX on England and France and Chapter XX on heresies. The history of Germany from the death of Henry VI in 1197 to the termination of the Interregnum in 1273 is covered in three chapters by Mr Austin Lane-Poole. Since the *verso* of German history in this epoch is that of Italy and the history of Germany is inseparable from imperial history, these chapters suffer from the attempt made to divorce the two subjects. The method of treatment alternates between a topical one and a chronological one, and in the shift some matters are inadequately presented, notably the history of the eastern frontier. On p. 104, the Mongol invasion in 1241 is briefly related, but one finds no mention of the previous work of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia until pp. 128-129, and then the amount of information given is meagre. There is no hint that this bulwark saved northeastern Germany from what Silesia suffered, or that Frederick II truly had a definite eastern frontier policy, which is more than can be said of any of his predecessors. Chapter v, 'Italy and Sicily under Frederick II,'

is from the pen of Professor Michaelangelo Schipa of the University of Naples. It is crowded with political and military details, but except for the character sketch on pp. 164-65 there is no intimation of Frederick the Magnificent's interest in science and literature. The difficult period of Italian history between 1250-90 is handled by Mr Previt -Orton with a sure touch. The chapters on English and French history are among the most satisfactory in the volume, as one would expect from such scholars as Mr Powicke, Mr Jacob and M. Petit-Dutaillis. The first has written upon Richard I and John and upon the reign of Philip Augustus; the second upon Henry III; the third upon Saint Louis. Professor Koht of the University of Oslo supplies an admirable account of the history of Scandinavia and that veteran scholar Dr Rafael Altamira contributes a less satisfactory chapter on Spain (1034-1248). While it is said that 'we are now beginning to know the historical character of the Cid,' what is here written is much along the old lines. The savant researches of M. Men ndez Pidal, first given to the world in *El Cid en la Historia* in 1921, amplified in *El Romancero: Teor as e Investigaciones* (1922), and crystallized in *La Espa a del Cid* (1929), while mentioned in the bibliography to this chapter, seem to have made slight impression upon M. Altamira. The history of Bohemia and Poland is briefly but capably written by Dr Krofta of the University of Prague and Professor Alexander Bruce-Boswell of the University of Liverpool. The late Louis L ger's account of Hungary has endeavored to compress the history of three centuries into ten pages, which even for a minor nation of Europe is niggardly treatment. Evidently the aged historian wrote reluctantly and was indifferent to his subject.

The last twelve chapters, as has been remarked, deal with *Kulturgeschichte*. Mr Clapham, the author of chapter xiv, 'Commerce and Industry in the Middle Ages,' in the bibliography appended to it, notifies the reader that 'the bibliography is a bibliography of the chapter, not of medieval economic history.' The subject is strictly limited to the history of commerce and industry. Within these limitations the account is satisfactory, but so much cannot be said of the bibliography. Apparently the chapter was written before the war and has not been touched since. The bibliography, while listing a few recent works, on the whole is not up to date. Kalischer's *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalter*, which is superior to K ttschke's similar work, Gay's *L'Italie m ridionale et l'Empire Byzantin* and Byrne's contributions to Genoese commercial history are unmentioned. The reviewer may be pardoned if he also ventures to suggest that his own *Economic and social history of the middle ages* and certain chapters in his *Feudal Germany* might justly have been cited. Professor Pirenne's chapter on 'Northern towns and their Commerce' embodies the quintes-

sence of his many writings upon this subject. But in neither of these chapters is there anything about the peasantry or the great decline of serfdom or any treatment of society as a whole. The common people go begging in the volume. Chapter xvi on 'The development of ecclesiastical organisation and its financial basis' by Mr Watson is a study of the administrative anatomy of the mediaeval church. From the late Hastings Rashdall one knows what to expect of 'The Mediaeval Universities,' and is not disappointed, except for the brevity of the chapter. Mr W. H. V. Reade's chapter on 'Political Theory' is confined strictly to a consideration of the antagonism between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. The limitation is unfortunate, for one would welcome some account of the mirrors for princes and the political literature of the epoch which so widely circulated in pamphlet form. Mr A. Hamilton Thompson's chapter upon 'Mediaeval Doctrine' is longer than most of the chapters, but it is hard to see how the subject — which extends from the Forged Decretals to the Lateran Council of 1215 — could have been more compressed. The author apparently is unacquainted with the remarkable work of J. T. MacNeal, *The Celtic Penitentials*, for otherwise he would not have written as he has done on p. 686. Nothing but praise may be accorded Mr Turberville's chapter on 'Heresies and the Inquisition' and Dr. Little's contribution on 'The Mendicant Orders.' The choice of these two writers for these two chapters was inevitable. The two sections (in one chapter) upon ecclesiastical and military architecture by Dean Cranage and again by A. Hamilton Thompson deal with this technical subject with a descriptive grace which relieves the difficult nature of the subject. In the latter's chapter upon 'The Art of War to 1400' it is unfortunate that there is nothing about the Swiss pike, and the significance of some neglected fights between Crécy and Poitiers has been passed over.

This brings us to the last two chapters, that upon 'Chivalry' by Miss A. Abram, and the late Jessie Laidlay Weston's upon 'Legendary Cycles of the Middle Ages.' It is an ungracious duty to have to record that the chapter on chivalry is utterly inadequate. Amid so many excellent contributions it shines out with bad eminence. It displays deplorable lack of understanding of the subject and the presentation is both disordered and fantastic. The bibliography (pp. 973-76) makes a portentous showing, but is a gesture of erudition which is belied by the text. Some of the works cited are grotesque. For among 'modern works' one finds such desiccated antiquities as Fauchet, *Origines des chevaliers* (1600), Favygen, *Le théâtre d'honneur* (1620), Sir W. Segar, *Honor, military and civill* (1590), Selden, *Titles of honor* (3d ed. 1672), the Sieuer de Columbière, *Le vray théâtre d'honneur et de chévalerie* (1648), Upton, *De studio militari* (1654), etc. Even

among recent works Flach's *Les origines de l'ancienne France* is not noticed, although vol. II, bk. II is full of suggestion. The author would have been wise if she had searched no farther than Guilhiermoz, *L'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen age*, Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, II, II, 139-43, Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises*, Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, I, bk. IV, and the literature cited by them.

One expects competent treatment of the *chansons de geste* and the Grail and Arthurian romances from Miss Weston, and is not disappointed. Objection, however, must be made to the limited view of mediaeval literature presented in chapter XXV. There is nothing in this whole great volume on the Latin literature of the thirteenth century, or the great historians like Matthew Paris, or the *fabliaux* or the beast stories or the important body of satirical literature current in this age which voiced the spirit of protest against social and economic conditions, and *Aucassin et Nicolette* is unmentioned. Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* is twice mentioned — by title — that is all. As grave as this omission is the oversight of science and art (except architecture) in the thirteenth century. It may be objected that the inclusion of these themes would have enlarged the volume to ponderous dimension. But the reader has the right to expect an account of these subjects or at least to be told that he may expect it in a subsequent volume.

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G. G. DEPT, 'Les Influences Anglaise et Française dans le comté de Flandre au Début du XIII^{me} Siècle,' (*Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Université de Gand*, 59^e fascicule), Ghent, 1928. Paper. Pp. 231.

It is safe to state that in the English-speaking world far too little attention has been paid to the history of Flanders, a land which played so vast a rôle in the economic, social, cultural, and political affairs of western Europe. Because of the dearth of studies on English relations with that land, this contribution ought to be welcomed by students.

The author essays to sketch the rival English and French influences which agitated the county from 1202 to 1226. He does not recite in detail the political facts of the external relations, which already had been done by Pabst, Cartellieri, Petit-Dutaillis, and Miss Norgate. A brief survey of the relations with England precedes the main part of the study.

Economic connections between England and Flanders can be found as early as the seventh century, but the battle of Hastings in 1066 marks an important turning-point. The dukes of Normandy were the ruling house in England. Their political power was a menace to the safety of Flanders, and the counts often revealed strong hostility to them. This did not change

until the Capetian monarchy became powerful enough to endanger the freedom of the counts, their vassals. Baldwin IX (1111-1202) first adopted a bitter hostility to his suzerain. He drew nearer to the English king, his vassals received money fiefs, and his towns, which were growing rapidly and waxing rich from the great volume of commerce, knew how to make their English sympathies known in the count's council.

This ascendancy of English influences continued after Baldwin IX left on the fourth crusade in 1202. Alliances were made imperative for England upon the loss of Normandy and Plantagenet lands in France in 1204. In 1208 the towns of St Omer, Ghent, Bruges, Douai, Lille, and Ypres became the allies of King John. But the captivity of Baldwin, followed by his death in 1206, sensibly checked the ascendancy of the English sympathizers. The government passed into the weak hands of Baldwin's brother, Philip of Namur, who allowed himself to be led by the wishes of Philip Augustus. The latter assumed direct control over Count Baldwin's daughters, Jeanne and Margaret. He sought to build up a party of supporters such as his English rival had done. He determined to marry Jeanne to a person who would surely befriend his interests, and in 1212 united her to Ferrand of Portugal.

While thus in high places the king could congratulate himself on having won a position of ascendancy, he failed to win the towns and finally also Count Ferrand. In 1213 he occupied the county and thus drove it definitively into the arms of the English. King John scattered money among the Flemish chivalry, the towns supported him, and the apogee of English influence was attained.

The battle of Bouvines on July 27, 1314, brusquely changed all this. The count and his Anglophil chivalry were prisoners, and Countess Jeanne was constrained to make peace on humiliating terms. The English party therewith suffered eclipse. Philip Augustus retained Ferrand as a guarantee of loyalty and Jeanne affixed her seal to the treaty of Melun (April, 1226). The English sympathizers were obliterated. Only the towns, because of their economic connections, remained friendly to the English, but this never led them to support Henry III against the French king.

The book has an excellent bibliography, and a section devoted to documents. The footnotes are very full and clear. It would perhaps be impossible for scholars in England or America to trace the reference *Album Vercoullie* in the first note on page 31. The full title is *Album opgedragen aan Prof. Dr. J. Vercoullie door Ambtgenooten, oud-leerlingen en vereerders ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigsten verjaardag en van zijn emeritaat, 1857-1927*, Vol. 1 (Brussels: Paginae, 1927).

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EDMOND FARAL, *La Légende Arthuriennne*. (Première partie, Les plus anciens textes.) Paris: Champion, 1929. Paper. 3 vols. Pp. iv+315; 463; 389.

ARTHURIAN students will be grateful to Faral for providing in his third volume handy texts of the three oldest Latin sources: *Historia Britonum*, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and *Vita Merlini*. No longer will it be necessary at every reference to Nennius to consult the ponderous Mommsen, and it is convenient to have both Nennius and Geoffrey in one volume. Faral has prepared his normalized texts not for the specialist but for the general scholarly reader, and this is quite proper because, in the case of works so important as these, a readable edition has its uses. Indeed, it is probable that even the specialist in Arthurian romances will consult Faral's texts nine times out of ten, but on the tenth time when he is in search of the greatest possible accuracy he will quote from Mommsen: *Historia Britonum*, Griscom: *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and Parry: *Vita Merlini*, and for reasons that I will try to show.

Students of Arthurian origins are interested in every mistake and every queer spelling in the older manuscripts, because they hope that these peculiarities may give a clue to the sources that lie behind our Latin texts. In Griscom's Geoffrey, for example, it is possible to trace all mistakes and queer spellings. In Faral's edition it is not possible.

Arthurian students regard Geoffrey's text somewhat as other people do the armless Venus de Milo. If you want arms for Venus de Milo I concede that Faral will supply more beautiful ones than anybody else. But some of us prefer to leave Venus in the armless condition in which she stands at the end of that long corridor in the Louvre. We leave the statue as it is because we are searching for the original splendid vision of the Greek artist, and we are afraid that this might be somewhat obscured to us if we allow any modern improvements however excellent. In the same way, the scholar who prefers Griscom's text of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* will do so, I think, not out of perversity but because he is trying to grasp Geoffrey's original conception and trying to see what sources he used, and he fears that these shadowy backgrounds may be obscured if he observes Geoffrey's text only through the colored glasses of Faral's normalizations.

Another reason why careful scholars will prefer Griscom's edition of Geoffrey's *Historia* to that of Faral, is that Griscom set before himself a sharply defined and definite task in which accuracy is possible. Griscom's¹ editorial canon is as follows: 'The following Latin text is a faithful reproduction of a manuscript in the University Library, Cambridge, No. 1706. . . . The usual manuscript abbreviations are extended throughout.' To

¹ Acton Griscom: *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Longmans Green, 1929), p. 218.

carry out this simple canon, Griscom needed only one or two sharp-eyed and careful helpers.

Faral's editorial canon¹ leaves too much room for the 'personal equation': 'J'ai employé (sauf pour les noms propres, où j'ai respecté rigoureusement la lettre des originaux) les graphies qu'on peut appeler traditionnelles et qui ont le mérite de faciliter la lecture.'² He also admits 'Un minimum de corrections' of the manuscript chosen as a base. By altering all mediaeval spellings to those of classical Latin, Faral has pulled down upon himself an avalanche of petty changes, in the confusion wrought by which, accuracy becomes difficult. Moreover, since no two persons could agree precisely on the normalization of spelling, or the correction of real or supposed mistakes, Faral probably had to do all the editing and correcting himself, a task so great that a few errors may be condoned.

I have compared Griscom's printed Latin text with two facsimile plates of *Cambridge 1706* (one is the frontispiece, and the other faces p. 52), and have also checked two other pages against rotographs of the manuscript, and find no errors of any kind.

I have compared the second page of Faral's printing (p. 72) with a facsimile leaf of the manuscript which he has chosen as a base, *Cambridge 1125* (in Griscom's edition facing p. 32), and find that in his footnote to chapter III, line 2, Faral says that *Cambridge 1125* reads *gaulfridi*. The facsimile shows *galfriidi*. The reading *gaufriidi* (not *gaulfridi*) is from the Bern manuscript, as may be seen in the facsimile plate in Griscom (facing p. 86). In the next line Faral says that *Cambridge 1125* reads *exortum*. The facsimile has *extortum*.

In a footnote on p. 84 to chapter xvi, line 23, Faral says that the Leyden manuscript reads *apis*. Griscom's edition contains (facing p. 50) a facsimile plate of Leyden. Anyone can see that it reads *apris*.

Parry's edition of the *Vita Merlini* lays down an editorial canon which is even stricter than that already quoted from Griscom's edition of the *Historia*.³ 'From the text [Brit. Mus.] *Cotton Vesp. E. iv*, I have not knowingly departed in any way either in spelling or punctuation except that I have expanded (in smaller type) the abbreviations of the MS.'

So far as I can test the work, Parry has lived up to his canon. In Faral's edition of the *Vita*, on the other hand, I find on the first page (III, 307) a variation from the facsimile in a proper name, and Faral promised to keep the spelling of proper names. Faral in line 15 prints *Rabirius*, whereas the

¹ Vol. III, 2-3; cf. also 69-70, 306.

² That is, Faral has changed the manuscript spellings to those of classic Latin: *nihil* for the mediaeval *nichil*, *saeptius* for *sepius*, etc.

³ John J. Parry, *The Vita Merlini* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. x, no. 3, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1929), p. 25.

facsimile plate in Parry's *Vita Merlini* (facing p. 9) reads *Rabiruis*. A roto-graph of *Cotton Vesp. iv* that I have consulted at the University of Illinois Library shows that in line 953, where Faral prints *producit* the manuscript reads *protulit*; and where Faral begins a new paragraph at line 977, thus giving this line to Merlin, the manuscript begins the paragraph at line 976¹ and gives the line to Taliesin.

All of the mistakes that I have pointed out in Faral's texts are unimportant. They suffice, however, to show that careful workers will prefer to quote, not from Faral, but from some edition that aims to be an exact reprinting of one good manuscript, because such an edition can be practically accurate. Faral then has done a good readers' edition of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and not a critical edition at all.

Let me add that even if he had done a critical edition, it would be too complicated to be of much use. Unless by a study of the relations of the manuscripts, the number of important sets of variants can be reduced to three or four, a critical edition of any ancient book is nearly useless to a careful student. If not more than three or four sets of variants are given at the foot of the page, it may be possible by a great deal of labor to reconstruct some idea of the character of each of the different manuscripts, or families of manuscripts; but when the number of variants goes beyond three or four, reconstitution of a manuscript becomes a super-human task. Griscom lists 185 manuscripts of Geoffrey's *Historia* and nobody,² has seen any way of reducing the chief variants to manageable proportions. Under these circumstances, assuming that Griscom's edition is an exact reprint of *Cambridge 1706*, what is needed is that all other good manuscripts be collated with Griscom's text, and their variant readings be printed in consecutive order. Such collations show many things that a critical edition conceals. If it be too expensive to publish all the collations, then an onomasticon of proper names, giving all the spellings of all the different manuscripts, should be constructed. Such a dictionary would be an indispensable tool for Arthurian students.

A critical study that fills the first two volumes of Faral's work is, like his texts, addressed to the general intelligent reader. Neither Faral's texts nor his critical study are objective performances. They are alike in being considerably more simple than the facts that he is studying. Most people know nothing of Irish or Welsh, and most readers will be attracted by Faral's treatment of the Arthurian legends which completely ignores Irish and

¹ Paragraphs are not indented in this manuscript, but are marked with a ¶.

² Faral defends his way of editing in *Romania*, LV (1929), 484, note 3, and calls Griscom's edition no better than a roto-graph. Surely a printed book is more convenient than any roto-graph.

Welsh influence. They will applaud his work because it is easy to understand. Why is it that Faral never refers to the assured results of Irish scholarship? He does not mention, for example, the derivation of *Caliburnus*, the name of Arthur's sword, from the Irish *Caladbolg*, and remarks (II, 266) that *Caliburnus* is unexplained¹ unless it be from *chalybs* in Virgil.

Taine wrote a History of English Literature to illustrate a theory. His history, although in details very often wrong, met with great popular success and is still on everybody's book-shelf because it is clearly written. Faral is writing a history of the Arthurian Legend to prove that everything in the Arthurian material of any importance at all comes from the main stream of European literature and is based on classical writers. Perhaps Faral's History of the Arthurian Legend, of which these three volumes are the first fruits, will have a popular success like Taine. Faral writes clearly and well. His book will, doubtless, turn the minds of many students toward the Arthurian romances. It is a pity that he says nothing about those fascinating Irish stories that throw light on many things in the romances he purposes to discuss.

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STEFAN GAEVSKIĬ, 'Aleksandrija' v Davnii Ukrainskoi Literature [The 'Alexandria' in Old Ukrainian Literature] (Istorično-filologični Viddil Vse-ukrainskoi Akademii Nauk, Zbirnik No. 98). Kiev, 1929. Pp. xvi+237. Paper. Rubles 2.40.

THIS substantial volume, issued under the auspices of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, is devoted to the legendary history of Alexander the Great as it flourished on Ukrainian soil, and constitutes one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the Alexander romance which has appeared in several years. Among Alexander studies that have been published in the Slavic world it is the most notable in this century.

This volume is chiefly a collection of texts, but of texts hitherto scarcely available or available only in manuscripts. There are four main items which follow the brief introduction in Ukrainian. Of these items by far the most

¹ The derivation of Geoffrey's *Caliburnus* (IX, 4) from the Welsh *Calet-welch* (J. Rhys and G. Evans, *The Text of the Mabinogion*, 105.28; 136.11), and that from the Irish *Calad-bolg* (LL. 102a28; 102b23) has been demonstrated with almost mathematical precision. Both in Geoffrey and in the Irish this magic sword was brought from fairyland. See Zimmer, *Gott. gel. Anz.* (1890), pp. 516-17; Windisch, *Leipzig Abhandlungen*, 1912, 'Das Kelt. Brit.' p 174; J. Loth, *Les Mab.*³ (1913), I, 258, n. 2; Thurneysen, *ZCP*, XII (1918), 281; *Irische Helden und Königsage* (1921), 114. On the derivation of *Caliburnus* from *Caletwelch* (l interchanges with r, and -nus is the regular ending) see W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, pp. 92, 326.

On the other hand *Caliburnus* cannot come from *chalybs*, and *chalybs* 'steel' is not the name of a sword, cf. 'Fluit aes rivis aurique metallum, Volnificusque chalybs vasta fornace liquescit,' *Aeneid*, viii, 455-6.

important and interesting is item I (pp. 1-85), a new text of the so-called Serbian *Alexander*. Entering Slavic territory in perhaps the fourteenth century from the South-east, this has developed in the course of its long life and as a result of many scribal remaniements into a variety of forms, suggestive rather of a folk-tale than of a work of purely literary tradition. Representatives of the South-eastern types have long been available in the editions of V. Jagić and S. Novaković (see F. P. Magoun, *Gests of King Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pp. 37, 38, for literature); here we have a Ukrainian text represented in at least 9 MSS. The MSS T, V, X are late and were not used for the present edition; A and C in Lemberg were not available in preparing the text for publication, nor was MS. No. 3517 in the Krasinski Library, Warsaw. The text is based on MS. II (from the collection of M. Peretz), carelessly excuted in detail but complete; the edited text follows this closely with the use of question and exclamation marks in square brackets after words or phrases which might be taken for typographical errors; the MS. improves as it advances and difficulties have, furthermore, been cleared up with the aid of variants from B and II₁, deriving from the source of II. B and II₁ are unfortunately defective at the beginning, but where II is abridged, lacunae have been often supplied from II₁, such additions being placed in square brackets without disturbing the text of II. The use of MSS with an East Slavic or Muscovite coloring — conservatism characterizes these redactions — is eschewed in order to give a clear picture of the Ukrainian redaction, though some help has been derived from these for places where the readings of II in its earlier parts (before B and II₁ could be drawn upon) are damaged.

The introductory discussion of item II (pp. 89-173), ultimately a translation through a Polish intermediary of one of the Strassburg incunabula of the *Historia de Preliis*, recension P, needs modification and revision in the light of the study of this text made in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XLII (1928), 262-274; the Polish text printed in *Prace Filologiczne*, Vol. IX (1920) is, of course, of no use for purposes of comparison here; what is badly wanted is an edition of the Polish texts printed in Cracow in 1550 and later.

Item III (pp. 177-210) is the Ukrainian *Alexander* from Marcin Bielsky's *Kronika*. This exists in two forms: (1) the basis of the edited text with a long interpolated passage and preserved in 3 Chronicles, designated as M, B₁, II; (2) without the interpolation and existing as an independent work, from which variants are cited as II₁. The sources and relationship of this work need further study.

Item IV consists of 6 supplementary passages taken variously from MSS II, K, M₁, II₁, B, and II. No. 1 illustrates an early type of preface not in the later MSS; No. 2 serves as a specimen of the language of the Kievan Ukrai-

nian fragments; Nos. 3, 4, and 5 illustrate in the episode of the Gymnosophists (*nagomudretsi*, the 'naked wise') the variable character of the MSS; while No. 6 gives us the story of the poisoning and death of Alexander.

The publication of the above-mentioned texts with apparatus, taken in connection with Mr Gaevskii's earlier work on the MSS of the Serbian *Alexander*, is certain to give impetus to studies which have languished since the appearance of the fundamental books of Veselovskii and Istrin. Scholarship owes a debt of gratitude to the editor and to the directors of Ukrainian Academy.

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HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON, ed., *The Book of the Icelanders (Islenðingabók) by Ari Thorgilsson, edited and translated with an Introductory Essay and Notes (Islandica xx)*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library, 1930. Pp. 89. Paper. \$2.00.

FINNUR JÓNSSON, ed., *Áre hinn Fróðe þorgilsson, Islenðingabók, tilegnet Islands Alting 930-1930 af Dansk-Islandsk Forbundsfond*. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1930. Pp. vii+74, with a phototypic reproduction of the MS. *AM 113 B*, 10 leaves. Paper. Kr. 18.

It is an interesting coincidence, but by no means a surprising one, that two born Icelanders now resident for many years abroad chose the same subject for books to be offered as homage to their native land on the occasion of the millenary observance of the founding of the Icelandic Commonwealth with the establishment of the *Alþingi* in 930. Ari's historical work is not only the first book written in the vernacular in Iceland, but it possesses an intrinsic importance far beyond that due to such a merely fortuitous chronological precedence. The first Icelandic historian was a worthy founder of the line which culminates in Snorri Sturluson.

Professor Finnur Jónsson's edition has a brief introduction on Ari's life and literary activities, followed by a phototypic reproduction of one of the two surviving manuscripts, *AM 113 B*. Next he gives a modified diplomatic text, with critical and exegetical notes. The latter are very full and form a running commentary in the course of which the editor takes occasion to discuss various controversial matters at some length. Thus the three short sentences of the Prologue are followed by 6½ pages of commentary. Such an arrangement makes it difficult to read the text consecutively, but the notes themselves amply compensate for this defect. The reader is not surprised to discover that Professor Jónsson's opinions on the crucial questions of interpretation and his conclusions drawn from them remain unchanged by the additional literature on the subject which has appeared since his history of Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic literature, and one would not have him other than he is, a Viking of scholarship who wields

his broadsword with slashing strokes calculated to demolish his opponents with an epic finality. May he live long to carry on the fight! The book also contains a translation into Danish and various supplements, including a bibliography.

Professor Hermannsson has followed quite a different method. His introductory essay of 46 pages is well conceived to fulfill its purpose of acquainting a wider public with Ari's life and times and presenting in a clear and judicious manner the chief problems connected with the *Libellus* and its place in the tradition of Icelandic historiography. He summarizes all the significant contributions of previous commentators to the discussion of the many interesting questions posed by Ari's work, nor does he fail to advance a new theory of his own regarding the much disputed genesis of the book. Mr Hermannsson suggests that the *Islendingabók* was written at the direct instance of the two bishops who are reported in the Prologue to have criticized it, and the changes which Ari made in the second redaction, the only one preserved, he believes to have resulted from the suggestion of the clerical critics that more stress should be laid on ecclesiastical matters and less on purely secular history. These alterations were made, according to Mr Hermannsson's theory, in order to make the book better adapted to its purpose as a work of propaganda to further the adoption of the Ecclesiastical Law obtained by the bishops in 1123, which must have followed the appearance of Ari's work since it is not mentioned there, as pointed out by Bley. Mr Hermannsson makes out a plausible case, arguing his point persuasively and with due restraint. Once or twice he seems to the reviewer to overstress a fact which he believes to support his theory, as when he implies that it is unlikely that Ari should have consulted the two bishops in connection with his book, 'neither of whom was a literary man, or a patron of letters' (p. 36), except under the circumstances which he assumes. But it need not surprise us that the author of the first book in the vernacular, and doubtless one of the first secular works in any language, composed in Iceland, should apply for advice to the bishops of the country, the titular heads of the clergy who represented the only literate class of the population. Nor can it be justly said that a disproportionate amount of space is devoted to ecclesiastical affairs in the book as we now have it, considering that its author was after all himself a man of clerical education. Many readers will not agree with the editor when he interprets the Prologue as implying that Ari's critics suggested omissions as well as additions; Heusler's objection that this is to make a hypothetical *minca* out of the plain *auca* of the text is still a valid one. It is this consideration which is one of the strongest arguments in favor of Schreiner's conception, which cannot be brushed aside so loftily as Finnur Jónsson would have us believe.

The present writer confesses to a furtive leaning toward the heterodox interpretation of the phrase 'fyr utan attartolo oc conunga ævi' as 'except for the (now added) genealogies and lives of kings,' endorsed by Jón Sigurðsson and Jón Þorkelsson. It seems to fit the transmitted context much better than to understand the words in the opposite sense. What these additions, which must have been removed later, may have consisted in, we can never know with certainty. With regard to the passage 'með því at þeim lícaði svá at hava eða þar viðr auka,' the true explanation is most probably that of B. M. Olsen, who took *eða* not in a disjunctive, but in a copulative sense (practically = *oc*). This use is amply attested for the older language by several passages in the Elder Edda (see the commentary of Detter-Heinzel on *Völuspá* 24, 5-8; 26, 7; 28, 8, and Neckel's glossary *s.v. eða*).

Mr Hermannsson prints the text in a normalized orthography for the benefit of the general reader to whom he addresses himself, and his translation is perspicuous and soundly literal. The notes are informative and scholarly, as was to be expected.

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HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON, *Icelandic Manuscripts (Islandica XIX)*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library, 1929. Pp. 80, 8 plates. Paper. \$2.00.

THIS is an extremely welcome account of the whole body of Icelandic parchment codices and the fates which have followed them through various vicissitudes to their present resting-places, for the most part in the libraries of Denmark and Sweden.

After an introductory section on the beginnings of writing and book-making in Iceland, the author proceeds to a discussion of the criteria for dating the extant manuscripts and a concise summary of the most important arranged in chronological order. He then takes up the question of authorship in connection with the problem of tracing the history of the various manuscripts, most of which are anonymous, and contributes here a valuable excursus on the part played by clerics in the literary transmission of secular material. He reaches the conclusion, in confirmation of views already propounded by Rudolf Meissner, that members of the clergy had only a minimal share in the merit of preserving from oblivion the sagas and the ancient poetry, both Eddic and Scaldic.

The melancholy story of how Iceland was gradually stripped of its manuscript treasures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is told with much interesting detail. Mr Hermannsson properly emphasizes the disastrous effect which this process of spiritual denudation exercised upon the Icelandic nation. It is, as he says, 'surprising that the people ever recuperated after such a loss, subjected as they were also to political and economic

oppression.' He is not disposed to accept without question the usual argument that the removal of the manuscripts saved them from the destruction to which they were exposed under the conditions in which they were kept in the country of their origin, and points out that the very success of such an indefatigable collector as Arni Magnússon in gathering them together in one place resulted in an irreparable loss when a large part of his library was burned in the great Copenhagen fire of 1728. There is a tragic irony in the fact that 'the country which produced so many manuscripts should now possess only one parchment codex of the *Jónsbók* (of ca. 1600) and about twenty vellum fragments, none of them important.'

Only a few items have found their way to America, including three vellum codices of the *Jónsbók*, one in the Fiske Icelandic Collection, Cornell University, and two in the Harvard College Library (Maurer Collection). These two libraries also possess some paper manuscripts of late date and slight importance.

Appended to Mr Hermannsson's essay is a useful 'List of Catalogues of Icelandic Manuscripts.'

The reviewer has noted two misprints, on p. 6, footnote 2: 1280 and 1270 should be 1180 and 1170, respectively.

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JAMES F. KENNEY, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: an Introduction and Guide*, (Vol. 1, Ecclesiastical), (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies). New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi+807. \$12.50.

IT IS difficult to refrain from a lavish use of superlatives in a notice of this contribution to Early Irish Studies, which is published under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University, and the general editorship of Austin P. Evans, Ph.D. (in succession to James T. Shotwell, LL.D.). Everyone who has been interested in the investigation of any phase of these studies, whether historical, literary, or ecclesiastical, or of any particular point such as hagiography, development of culture, palaeography, and numerous others, has been forcibly impressed with the need, first, of a complete bibliography, and second, of a critical appreciation of the sources which will serve as a guide in the use of the immense body of detailed studies which have appeared in this broad field. Hitherto, one has been limited to partial bibliographies of particular subjects, selected lists found in various places, especially in connection with reviews, and catalogs of library collections on the various branches. The most notable help, up to now, has been R. I. Best's *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature*, published by the National Library of Ireland. Here, at last, are brought together in a single convenient arrangement all the important

contributions to history and allied studies, particularly philology, palaeography, chronology, geography and topography, archaeology, and anthropology, as they relate to Ireland. The present volume is confined to sources dealing chiefly with ecclesiastical affairs up to A.D. 1170, except for the earliest period, for which, naturally, no distinction could be drawn between ecclesiastical and secular matters. It is to be followed by another volume dealing with Irish secular sources, and with foreign sources for the later periods.

The utility of the assemblage in one place of such a varied mass of documentary sources is surpassed, however, by the usefulness of this volume as a guide to students in the appreciation of the importance and critical value of the works that have appeared, not only from the viewpoint of history as such, but also from that of the various aspects of historical study. The fundamental manuscript sources being mentioned, and the printed editions available, the questions that have arisen are noted, the controversies that have been or are being waged are succinctly summarized, and often a hint is given as to the direction in which the solution probably lies.

The chapter on 'History in Ireland,' in which is given a sketch of the actual state of learning in Ireland in the early centuries after the introduction of Christianity, and of its progress through the war-periods of the Viking and Anglo-Norman invasions, and so through the succeeding attempt to substitute the English for the Gaelic tradition of learning, presents in the brief compass of sixty-eight pages a summary of Irish literary history for a millennium and a half which is unsurpassed anywhere. The remainder of the chapter, dealing with 'Modern Scholarship and the Gaelic Revival' and the 'Chief Collections of Manuscripts,' is, from the point of view of the history of the study of the Irish language, one of the most important portions of the work.

But one cannot select any one part of the volume as more valuable than any other, except from the subjective angle of one's own academic interest. The following chapters on the knowledge of Ireland among the classical peoples, on the introduction of Christianity and the relations of Ireland with the Continent during the so-called 'Celtic' period of the Irish Church, on the foundation and development of monastic churches, on the work of Irish missionaries in North Britain and the Continent, on the literary connections between Ireland and the Continent from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, on the religious literature and ecclesiastical culture of the same period, and finally on the external reorganization of the Church in Ireland in the twelfth century — all of these show the same painstaking and detailed accounts of the circumstances of the period, and of the more general primary sources of information that have come down to us, with their

printed editions and commentaries, if any, followed by studies of the particulars (listed under the names of individuals, churches, schools, manuscripts, and the like), always with a critical appreciation of the value of the works cited, and of the questions which remain unsettled.

This volume is the fruit of over twenty years of research, and Dr Kenney may be said to have lengthened the life of every student of this field by approximately that span, for it takes a score of years to become acquainted with a mere fraction of the sources here discussed. The students of the future may well be said to start from the shoulders of their predecessors if they work from the beginning with such a guide as this in their hands. All who are interested in Celtic studies, more particularly in the Irish portion of the field, will gladly acknowledge themselves deeply indebted to the author and to the editors of the 'Records of Civilization' Series, and will fervently pray that the intended second volume, on the secular sources, may soon complete this magnificent work.

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Catholic University of America

STEVEN RUNCIMAN, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*. London: G. Bell's Sons, 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+337. 16 shillings.

APART from Mr William Miller's scant fifteen pages of cursory survey in the *Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, 230-245, and Chap. XI of J. B. Bury's *History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I*, there has been heretofore practically no material in English on the First Bulgarian Empire, and very little on the subject of the conversion of the Bulgars and their relation both to Rome and to the Eastern Church, though the latter topic has been treated succinctly and accurately in French by F. Dvornik (*Les Slaves, Byzance, et Rome* [Paris, 1926], pp. 184 ff.). The best discussions of early Bulgarian history have been, in fact, hidden from western scholars in numerous Russian articles and monographs and in the monumental Bulgarian work of Professor V. N. Zlatarski, *Istoriija na Bŭlgarskata Dŕzava prŕz Srŕdnitŕ Vŕkove* (*History of the Bulgarian State in the Middle Ages*; Sofia: I, 1918; II, 1929).

The Bulgars are particularly interesting on account of their Turcotatar origin, their apparent racial identity with the Huns, and their rapid fusion with a Slavic population with whom they made contact during their southward movement. They appear in motion between the Volga and the lower Danube in the second half of the fifth century; in 482, the Emperor Zeno enlisted them as his allies against the Goths. Their first raid into Thrace occurred in 499, from which date their incursions were frequently repeated, sometimes with Hunnish or Slavic reinforcements, until in 626 they ad-

vanced toward Constantinople under command of an Avar khan. Up to this time, they had been more or less submissive to the Avars, but the Pannonian realm of the latter was weakened about 640 by Bulgarian and Slavic attacks, and the loose agglomeration of Bulgar tribes swarmed down through the Balkans until they invested Thessalonica thirty-five years later. While the Bulgars must have pushed through the territory of certain Eastern Slavic units (particularly the Antes) in the course of their migration, the Slavs they met below the Danube doubtless belonged to the southern branch, which had begun to settle in the Eastern Balkans from the sixth century. A hundred years later, the Slavs of Moesia were thus glad to submit to Bulgar domination in return for protection both against the Avars and against Byzantium. Indeed, as Niederle remarks, 'cette occupation et la soumission conjointe des tribus slaves installées dans cette région se firent dans le calme, sans soulever de résistance.'

Mr Runciman outlines the struggles between the Greek Emperors and the Bulgar Khans and the interplay of ecclesiastical influences which culminated in the triumph of the Eastern Church in Bulgaria (a most striking instance of the slow and pacific penetration of Byzantine Christianity) and contributed to the rise of the powerful state under Greek administrative and intellectual influence ruled over for thirty-seven years by Tsar Boris (*regn.* 852-889). Within his reign falls that traditional mission sent by Rostislav of Moravia to Michael III which resulted in the missionary journey of Cyril and Methodius, the relation of which to Bulgarian culture is effectively treated. The progress of the Bulgarian Empire continued under Symeon (*regn.* 893-927), in whose reign intellectual advance was accelerated by the stimulus of the royal school at Preslav and of Clement's group at Okhrida. The economic situation of the growing state was improved by its position on strategic trade-routes, though difficulties with Byzantine commercial interests led to a military collision with Leo the Wise. The latter was not loth to use the advancing Magyars as a threat, but was worsted in both diplomacy and warfare by the calculating Symeon, who repulsed the Magyars toward the Danubian plain, where their settlement perpetuated the separation of Bulgaria from the West which had already resulted from the policy of Tsar Boris. Mr Runciman skillfully traces Symeon's campaign for the Byzantine throne during the regency for Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913-919), his eventual peace with Romanus Lecapenus (924), and the ill-fated operations in Croatia which foreshadowed Symeon's death. The concluding chapters deal with the Bogomile heresy, the Russian invasion under Svyatoslav of Kiev, and the decline and final subjugation of Bulgaria under Basil II.

The appendices to Mr Runciman's volume treat (among other matters)

the so-called 'Bulgarian Princes' List,' Bulgar titles, various questions of chronology, and the Cyrillic and Glagolitic alphabets. In the last connection, it suffices to observe that the author is a convinced adherent of the Minns-Rahlfs view (shared at present by E. F. Karski) which rejects not only the priority of the *Glagolica* but also its derivation from Greek cursive; it may be questioned, however, whether many Slavists would regard Rahlfs' remarks (Kuhns *Zeitschrift*, XLV, 285 ff.) as adequate reason to throw overboard the entire Taylor-Jagić theory. The book contains a comprehensive bibliography, though I miss references to any modern text of the Russian *Primary Chronicle* more recent than Léger's French translation and, in connection with Cyril and Methodius, A. Brückner's pamphlet *Die Wahrheit über die Slavenapostel* (Tübingen, 1913), as well as H. von Schubert's important study 'Die sogenannten Slavenapostel Constantin und Methodius' (*Heidelberg Sitz.-Ber.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1916). A. Rahlfs' article (cited above), though cursorily referred to p. 298 n., does not figure in the bibliography. The book contains a good map.

Mr Runciman's work is a valuable adjunct to both Byzantine and Early Slavic history, and makes available for the first time a considerable amount of information hitherto accessible with difficulty, and then only to students familiar with one or more Slavic languages. One is tempted to suggest to the author the potential interest of a similar detailed treatment of the Serbian Empire from Stephen Nemanya to the battle of Kosovo Polye, for which, to be sure, Jiriček-Radonić supply a somewhat inferior background to that furnished by Zlatarski for the present study.

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A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II (From the Crusades to the Fall of the Empire). Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 10+502.

THE present volume is the second and last part of Professor Vasiliev's important text, of which the first half appeared in 1928. The whole work is of special value as the first modern inclusive treatment in English of Byzantine history as a whole from Constantine the Great to Constantine XI conceived and executed with sufficient breadth to permit an adequate insight into most of the chief phases of Byzantine civilization during the entire course of its evolution. The author's standing as a specialist emanating from the school of V. G. Vasilievski indicates the outstanding character of this study. The second volume itself is an amplification of three monographs published in Russian by the author in 1923 and 1925, each of which covers one of the three main divisions into which this volume naturally falls: the period of the Crusades, the Empire of Nicaea, and the two final

centuries of gradual decline under the Palaeologi. In addition to the general survey of the literature on Byzantine history which opened Professor Vasiliev's first volume, the author has provided in the second detailed bibliographies for each of the sections which it comprises.

Professor Vasiliev's description of the administration, politics, foreign relations, and culture of the Eastern Empire reflects an admirable command of the voluminous source material, though at times the strictly chronological presentation creates a certain (and perhaps unavoidable) monotony through absence of specific emphasis. One also misses any extensive effort at detailed treatment of the commercial relations and internal economics of the Byzantine State. While more or less satisfactory general data on the former are of course available in such works as W. Heyd's *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age* and Professor J. W. Thompson's *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, it would seem that complete synthetic treatment of the influence of trade and financial factors on imperial evolution is essential for a proper understanding of the strength and weakness of the Byzantine economy. Such supplementing of the traditional political view-point in history would thus appear as useful in the study of the Eastern Empire as in dealing with the relations of modern states, and the functions of budgets, taxes, customs, and the purchasing power of the bezant were doubtless fully as important for imperial stability as the theological arguments which play so extensive a rôle in Byzantine intellectual life. Neither volume of Professor Vasiliev's work contains any maps, though they would have contributed greatly to its usefulness for the student.

In the foreword to the third Russian monograph referred to, Professor Vasiliev expressed his intention 'to refrain for the moment from any general estimate of the significance of Byzantium in world history, since such a task deserves a special monograph, which should not relate to any particular epoch of Byzantine history, but to its whole external and internal development, with all the complicated processes of its political, social, economic, and intellectual life.' Professor Vasiliev's brief but inclusive treatment, in the present volume, of literature, learning, and art during the three epochs which it discusses, and, in particular, his short survey of the relation of Byzantium to the Italian Renaissance (II, 433-444), justifies the hope that he will eventually devote to Byzantium a work as authoritative in the interpretation of Byzantine culture in its European significance as the present study is in the presentation of the historical facts of imperial evolution and decline.

SAMUEL H. CROSS,
Harvard University

H. A. WOLFSON: *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi+759. \$6.00.

THE sixth volume in the *Harvard Semitic Studies*, a study of the problems of Aristotle's *Physics* in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy, opens with the very significant statement that 'Mediaeval philosophy is no longer considered a barren interval between ancient and modern philosophy,' and is a new evidence of the revival of interest in Mediaeval Philosophy. By means of philological and textual studies on which he has spent nearly twenty years, the author attempts to trace the history of certain philosophical problems, and by a picture of the reaction against Aristotelianism in Jewish schools of the fourteenth century to furnish a background for corresponding discussions in scholastic philosophy.

Hasdai Crescas (born in Barcelona in 1340, died in Saragossa in 1410) flourished two centuries after Maimonides, a period during which the center of Jewish philosophic activity had shifted to Christian Spain, to Southern France and to Italy, and an attitude of independence from, even of opposition to, Aristotle's philosophy had developed. Of his book *Or Adonai* ('The Light of the Lord') Professor Wolfson takes for consideration about one sixth: the first twenty-five chapters of Part I of Book I, which are written in the form of proofs of the twenty-five propositions in which Maimonides summed up the main principles of Aristotle's philosophy, and the first twenty chapters of Part II of the same Book, which are written in the form of a criticism of twenty out of the twenty-five propositions.

The present work comprises an Introduction (pp. 1-127), the Text and Translation of the Twenty-five Propositions of Book I of the *Or Adonai* (pp. 130-315), Notes (pp. 319-700) and Bibliography and Indexes (pp. 703-759). Critics well qualified to estimate the merit of Dr Wolfson's scholarship have called his work 'the most thorough piece of historical and critical scholarship in the field of mediaeval Jewish Philosophy' (Dr Isaac Husick, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. XXI, p. 166). Here we shall content ourselves with a brief statement of the main points upon which Crescas challenges Aristotle's positions and arguments. Professor Wolfson's valuable Introduction gives a systematic presentation of these points.

The first problem dealt with is that of infinity and space. In the arguments by which Aristotle tries to establish the impossibility of an infinite corporeal extension, Crescas discovers certain fallacies, as, for instance, that of arguing against the existence of an infinite from the analogy of a finite, and he holds that the infinite may be a body. He takes issue with Aristotle's definition of place and affirms against him the possibility and existence of a vacuum and of an infinite incorporeal extension.

Crescas approaches next the problem of motion and time, and makes the

relation between time and motion one of the pivotal points of his criticism of Aristotle. He finds fault with the definition of motion as the 'actuality of that which is in potentiality in so far as it is in potentiality:' he insists that matter is not inert, but naturally endowed with motion; he concedes that the immediate cause of motion must be distinct from, though not necessarily external to, the object moved, but does not apply this to the ultimate cause of any transition from potentiality to actuality. Making duration the essence of time and duration independent of, though measurable through, motion, he admits the possibility of time prior to creation.

Taking up at last the matter and form theory, Crescas eliminates the purely potential unextended prime matter. For him matter is something actual, not depending upon its form for existence, from which it follows that form is no longer to be considered as the cause of the existence of a being.

Summing up the results of his analysis of Crescas' main positions, Professor Wolfson credits him with having foreshadowed a new conception of the universe, and striking indeed are the analogies between some of the Jewish thinker's ideas and some of the concepts of modern physics: an infinite universe, a universal ether, revival of atomism, complete homogeneity and continuity of nature, the forces of which are unified by bringing magnetic attraction under the general laws of natural motion. He stops short, however, of the pantheistic attribution of extension to God 'who continues to play the traditional part of a transcendent being unlike anything within the universe.' Professor Wolfson's final estimate of Crescas' position is that of a mind fluctuating between tradition which he considered sovereign in matters religious and which he sought to defend against Aristotle's rationalism, and the method of experience to which he appealed without making it the basis of inductions giving rise to universal laws. Having renounced the 'wilds of speculation' and the 'artificial structures of the Aristotelian system' he sought but did not find a new way of returning to nature.

Professor Wolfson has earned the gratitude of students of scholastic philosophy and mediaeval thought who are not familiar with Hebrew for having given them access to a work little known so far. They will look with interest for the publication of a separate study of Part III of Book I and of the remaining chapters of Parts I and II of *Or Adonai* which Professor Wolfson promises to give shortly under the title, *Crescas and the Existence and Attributes of God*.

J. A. BAISSÉE,
Sulpician Seminary,
Washington, D. C.

COMMUNICATIONS

With reference to Professor W. Thomson's review of Professor P. K. Hitti's *Memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh* (SPECULUM v, 448-551), the Editors of SPECULUM have received the following communication from Professor Hitti. Professor Thomson was invited by the Editors to submit a reply to Professor Hitti's remarks, and Professor Hitti has supplied certain comments upon this reply which appear below in italics as bracketed notes to the appropriate passages of the latter.

To the Editors of SPECULUM:

The review of my book *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* which appeared in your October issue reduces itself mainly into a comparison between my English translation and Derenbourg's French translation, on the one hand, and Derenbourg's Arabic text, on the other. But my translation is *not* of Derenbourg's text. That text was characterized as 'suspect' in my preface (line 8). My translation is based on photographic reproduction of the Escorial manuscript to which your reviewer had no access. How does he then justify his checking my translation against a text which is not its original and which I had refused to use?

Mr Thomson knows and states that I have 'gone back to the original source' and remarks twice on the '36' variations in reading pointed out in the English translation. These, however, were only illustrations, as expressly stated in the introduction, and were not meant to be all-inclusive. As I was not translating Derenbourg's text I did not consider it necessary to indicate *all* the variant readings. In my new Arabic text which was issued this October by the Princeton University Press, and after the review had been made, Mr Thomson will find about 748 variations from the Derenbourg text, some 86 of which have been emphasized in the footnotes.

Ignoring the source of the English translation is not the only pit into which Mr Thomson has fallen. He even failed to consult the *errata* of the text which he used as his standard. His first paragraph of criticism he introduces with: 'Unfortunately Professor Hitti has sometimes followed Derenbourg's French translation where it is wrong.' In support of his claim he cites an Arabic word (Arabic text, p. 6. 13) which Derenbourg translates (*Autobiographie*, p. 7. 14) 'qu'il soudoya,' which Hitti (p. 33.9) translates 'whom he won over to the scheme by distributing money' and which Thomson 'corrects': 'whom he had offended.' As a matter of fact that Arabic word is not *asā'lahum* (which Thomson translated from the Derenbourg text); it is *istamālahum* as corrected by Derenbourg himself in his long list of *errata* attached to his *Vie d'Ousama*, première partie (Paris, 1893), p. 625. In this eleven-page list, which the reviewer ignores, Derenbourg made no less than 369 corrections in the reading of his own text which is only 168 pages. The reading of this particular word was also corrected by Carlo de Landberg, *Critica Arabica* No. II (Leyden, 1888), p. 16. 15. Landberg devotes 57 pages and lists some 536 different readings from Derenbourg's text — with which the reviewer does not seem to be familiar. The second illustration which Thomson produces belongs to the same category. *an fi'ah* (Arabic text p. 19, 2), which he would have us 'correct' so as to translate 'without a man,' is 'arraftuhu, as Landberg (p. 18. 17) points out, and as corrected by Derenbourg in his *errata* p. 626. Other cases where we all agree on the original reading such as *qala'uhum* (text p. 28.8) and by which Thomson understands 'cut off' instead of 'dislodge,' and *ghashiyahu* (text p. 28. 21) which he would render 'attack' rather than 'envelop,' we leave to the verdict of the Arabists. Not one of Thomson's translations can I accept.

PHILIP K. HITTI,
Princeton University

To the editors of SPECULUM:

Professor Hitti has consigned me to a pit dug, no doubt, for an unwary reviewer. For although his translation, as the above communication shows, must be regarded as based ultimately, in some instances at least, on Derenbourg's *Additions et Corrections* occupying pages 625-637 of his *Vie d'Ousāma*, which Professor Hitti cites occasionally in other connections, I have so far found no specific reference to Derenbourg's errata in Professor Hitti's translation of Usāmah's memoirs, while his text, *Usāmah's Memoirs Entitled Kitāb Al-I'tibār*, which has just come to hand, only cites them twice, in note 54 to page 16 and note 9 to page 201, despite the fact that in the first thirteen pages of that text Professor Hitti has adopted seventeen of the readings suggested by Derenbourg in his errata, which is a little over 50 per cent of all the variations from Derenbourg's text that occur in these pages. And Professor Hitti's two citations merely serve to demonstrate the superiority of his own text over against even Derenbourg's errata. [As a translator into English of an Arabic manuscript in Spain I had no occasion to make any 'specific reference' to a list of errata issued by Derenbourg for his own text. But I now see how such an emphasis on the existence of the errata would have proved of extreme value to a reviewer who compared my translation with the wrong text and failed, through ignorance or 'oversight,' to make the proper use of its errata.]

I should gladly avail myself of the plea of ignorance which Professor Hitti has so kindly advanced on my behalf, but I am unable to do so. Not only did I know of, but I also used, Derenbourg's *Additions et Corrections*, and in the two instances, therefore, to which Professor Hitti has so happily called attention, I must confess to the graver offense perhaps of an oversight, for which I apologize to SPECULUM and to Professor Hitti.

I am, however, in good company. Professor Hitti himself sits in the pit with me. For in note 14 to page 202 of his text he cites Derenbourg's reading that we may compare it with his own undoubtedly superior one, but ignores the errata, where Derenbourg suggests the very reading which Professor Hitti has adopted (*Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 634, note to p. 147, 4). The same oversight occurs in note 126 to page 223. Professor Hitti's reading in this instance may be found in Derenbourg's errata, *Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 635, note to p. 165, 6. And the emendation which Professor Hitti proposes in note 42 to page 13, merely repeats what Derenbourg has already suggested in these fatal errata of his, p. 634, note to p. 9, 20. [This is all beside the mark. Even if it were relevant it would not be difficult to answer. Referring in a footnote to another reading for the sake of comparison is not parallel, as anyone can see, to using admittedly faulty readings as a basis of attack upon two translations, French and English, which was done by the reviewer.]

It is regrettable, therefore, that Professor Hitti insists herewith in rejecting *in toto* the twenty further suggestions which I put forward. Some of them are obvious, some are based on good Arab authorities, and the others will be plain to any Arabist who takes the pains to consult Professor Hitti's own text. The meaning of *qala'uhum*, for instance, which Professor Hitti mentions (p. 38, line 7 from the bottom), is clear from the context. For it is manifestly used in the same sense as the *ahlakuhum* of two lines above and the *yatamakkanū* of the next line and, therefore, signifies 'cut off' or 'destroy.' Usamah's horsemen are not holding any position from which they might be dislodged. They are scattered and in danger of annihilation. If Professor Hitti had written, 'and unhorse them,' which is perhaps what Derenbourg meant, it would have been a possible translation. A classical example of the use of *qala'a* without a complement in this sense will be found in Professor Hitti's text p. 58, line 4 from the bottom. In the present context, however, I prefer the meaning which I have proposed and which Professor Hitti himself approximates on page 181, 4 of his translation, where he renders *aqla'uhum* (*aqla'ahum?*) by, 'and rout them.' The case of *ghashiyahu*, which Professor Hitti renders by 'enveloped him' and Derenbourg by 'l'enveloppait,' is one of idiomatic English. G. R. Potter, who made an English translation of Usamah's memoirs from Derenbourg's

French, felt the difficulty of Derenbourg's phrase and translates, 'closed in [on him] on the left.' The matter is simple. *Ghashiya* may mean 'to come to or approach a person,' 'to surprise him,' or 'to fall upon him,' also, of course, 'to enclose an army completely;' but the last signification has no meaning in this instance. [Every one of these cases has been covered by my answer above. For Professor Thomson to treat them again is an indication that he is not willing to acquiesce in the judgment of the jury of Arabists to whom the words were referred. Who would blame him?]

Professor Hitti has not impugned any of the other instances which I advanced, but to replace the two which have fallen by the wayside, I shall add one or two more with the remark that this list of Professor Hitti's errors can be expanded ten- or twenty-fold at the pleasure of SPECULUM or Professor Hitti. [The two 'instances' acknowledged as impugned were in fact, as in name, instances serving as illustrations and not meant to be exhaustive. To brush aside here the issues raised by the original review and start on a new one is nothing less than evasion. With the unlimited space which seems to be accorded the reviewer, why not proceed to give the 'ten- or twenty-fold' list?]

On pages 32, 10; 58, line 11 from the bottom; 71, line 8 from the bottom; and 119, 11, Professor Hitti renders by 'Early the second morning' and 'The second morning' two Arabic words (*Ghadā, asbaḥa, sabḥaḥa*) which are generally translated by 'Early next morning' or just 'Next morning' (see text, pp. 8, 6; 32, 5; 43, bottom; 89, 8). In all four cases Derenbourg writes, 'Le lendemain matin.' The Arabic could hardly have led Professor Hitti astray, but the source of his error remains obscure, since on page 46, 7 (text 20, 6 from the bottom) he quite correctly says, 'The next morning,' where Derenbourg again has, 'Le lendemain matin' (p. 19, bottom). [If all the 'errors' committed in the translation are of this nature, I feel quite satisfied.]

On page 37, 15 of his text Professor Hitti proposes to read *jaish* instead of Derenbourg's *hbs*, one of those emendations no sooner suggested than accepted by every scholar. The Arabic then runs, 'while Mālik al-Ashtar was in the army of abu-Bakr.' But Professor Hitti writes (p. 64, line 14 from the bottom), 'while Mālik . . . was at the head of the army of abu-Bakr,' which recalls Derenbourg's convenient circumlocution (p. 37, 4), 'tandis que Malik . . . était l'un des généraux d'Abou Bekr.' [Reply unnecessary.]

On page 116, top, of Professor Hitti's translation we have the story of how the Patriarch William of Jerusalem pitched a tent during an attack on Bāniyās and used it as a church in which the Franks held their prayers. The Arabic then proceeds, 'An old deacon was charged with the care (or maintenance) of the church and had covered its floor (not 'floors') with bulrushes and grass, which resulted in a pest of fleas.' Derenbourg correctly states (p. 87, 16) that 'un vieux diacre veillait au service de cette église,' but Professor Hitti has the astonishing announcement that 'The church services were conducted by an old deacon.' Deacons, however, did not conduct services, although they might assist in parts of the service, and in the Arabic it is quite clear that Usāmah is referring to the old deacon's job of attending to the decency and order of the church itself. The source of Professor Hitti's error is not immediately evident. [This is the only good point raised in the whole review — or rather, in the two reviews — I must admit.]

Professor Hitti's text, page 192, 2, says that Usāmah's father used to consider no expense too great for the diversion which hunting gave. Professor Hitti writes (p. 222, 5), ' . . . for the satisfaction of his curiosity in this sport,' and Derenbourg has (184, 1), ' . . . pour satisfaire cette passion.' [A more intimate knowledge of colloquial Arabic would convince Professor Thomson of his mistake.]

Professor Hitti expresses astonishment that I should check his translation against a text which is not its original and which he had refused to use. The fact that I avoided the manifold pitfalls strewn through his translation in the form of his 748 variations from Derenbourg's

text and only stumbled twice by inadvertence where his 748 variations presented the craftier snare of correspondence with Derenbourg's errata, should have convinced him that the feat is not only feasible, but in a certain sense an elementary form of scholarship. Derenbourg's text is not so bad. It is quite possible, for example, to read Professor Hitti's translation in conjunction with it and to tell where the text behind Professor Hitti's translation and Derenbourg's text agree and where they do not agree, and also, to some extent, to recognize where the text underlying his translation is superior to Derenbourg's. Both texts are based on one manuscript, and a scholar of Derenbourg's eminence and honesty can be relied on to give a fairly sound text and also to indicate where in his opinion that text is doubtful.

As Professor Hitti says, however, Derenbourg's text was characterized as 'suspect' in the preface to his translation. He writes: 'A comparison of the photographic reproduction of folio 36 of the original manuscript appearing at the end of Hartwig Derenbourg's *Texte arabe de l'autobiographie d'Ousâma* (Paris, 1886) with the corresponding pages 37-38 of the book convinced me of the *suspect character* of the published text.' A comparison of Professor Hitti's text (pages 50-51) with that of Derenbourg discovers four variations in his text from that of Derenbourg. Of these, three appear in those fatal errata of Derenbourg's (*Vie d'Ousâma*, p. 627, notes to p. 37), since *fafaragha* there is evidently, as Derenbourg's translation plainly shows, a misprint for *fafaza'a*, while the fourth, *hamalah* to *jumlah*, is an unsuccessful attempt, in my opinion, to be rid of a difficult phrase, which Professor Hitti, even with his emendation or perhaps because of it, is unable then to translate correctly. The adage of classical scholars that of two readings the more difficult is probably the better, might have been taken to heart. However, it would be interesting to know just what was the basis of Professor Hitti's judgment as to the suspect character of Derenbourg's Text. [*The last two paragraphs carry their own condemnation with them. On the one page of the original MS. which Derenbourg chose to reproduce in his text as a sample of the work he did, four initial mistakes were made of which three were nine years later detected and attached to his French book. If this is not enough to arouse Thomson's suspicions as to the integrity of the whole text, all efforts on my part to arouse his suspicions as to his competence to make a review of such a work will prove in vain.*]

WILLIAM THOMPSON,
Harvard University

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading *Speculum* will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles will be reviewed in a future issue.

- R. Bauerreiss, *Das Schmerzensmann-Bild und sein Einfluss auf die mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit*. Munich: K. Widmann, 1931. Paper. Pp. 130.
- L. Bayly, *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb (The Practise of Piety)*. Cardiff: University of Wales, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xv+447. £0/10/6.
- F. Blatt, *Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos*. Giesen: A. Töpelman, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+197. RM. 17.
- T. B. Burch, ed., *The De Sacramento Altaris of William of Ockham*. Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+576. \$6.00.
- P. Champion, *Notice des Manuscrits du Procès de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Champion, 1930. Pp. 32 and 11 plates.
- C. Chapman, *Michel Paléologue*. Paris: Figuière, 1926. Paper. Pp. 204. Frs. 25.
- F. Cognasso, *Amadeo VIII*. Turin: G. B. Paravia, 1930, 2 vols. Paper. Pp. vi+274, vi+232.
- O. Dobiache-Rojdestvenski, *Les Poésies des Goliards*. Paris: Rieder, 1931. Paper. Pp. 271. Frs. 35.
- E. S. Duckett, *Latin Writers of the Fifth Century*. New York: Holt, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xviii+271. \$2.50.
- J. Evans, *Pattern, A Study of Ornament in Western Europe 1180-1900*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. 2 vols. Pp. xxxi+179, 249. \$50.00.
- H. F. Fletcher, *Milton's Rabbinical Readings*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 344. \$7.50.
- G. Frank, ed., *Le Livre de la Passion (Poème narratif du xiv^e siècle)*. Paris: Champion, 1930. Paper. Pp. xxvii-123. Frs. 12.
- C. Grimm, *Etude sur le Roman de Flamenca*. Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 175.
- T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings*. New York: Scribners, 1930. Cloth. Pp. vii+412 \$5.00.
- J. Kirchner, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den Philipps-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1926. Cloth. Pp. 140, 131 illustrations, 6 colored plates.
- R. Latouche, ed. and trans., *Richer: Histoire de France (888-995)*. Vol. 1. Paris: Champion, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvii+303. Frs. 25.
- L. Lockert, trans., *The Inferno of Dante*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xii+253. \$2.50.
- R. McKeon, *Selections from Medieval Philosophers* (Vol. II, From Roger Bacon to William of Ockham). New York: Scribners, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xviii+515. \$1.25.
- A. Masnovo, *Da Guglielmo d'Auvergne a San Tomaso d'Aquino*. 1. Milan: Soc. Ed. 'Vita e Pensiero,' 1930. Paper. Pp. viii-283.
- C. G. Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry* (Books XIV and XV of Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xlix+213. \$5.00.

- P. Piur, *Cola di Rienzo, Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes*. Vienna: L. W. Seidel, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+239. \$2.40.
- E. M. Sanford, trans., *Salvian's On the Government of God*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. viii+241. \$3.75.
- D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 419.
- A. G. Solalinde, ed., *Alfonso el Sabio-General Estoria, primera parte*. Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, 1930. Paper. Pp. lxxxi+820.
- K. Strecker, ed., *Hrotsvithae Opera*, 2nd edit. Leipzig: Teubner, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xii+278.
- J. W. Thompson, *The Middle Ages*, New York: Knopf, 1931. 2 vols. Cloth. Pp. xxx+1069+xliv. \$12.50.
- H. Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den deutschen Handschriften bis 1500*. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1927. Cloth. Pp. 182. 157 illustrations. 6 colored plates.
- H. Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der deutschen Bilderhandschriften des späten Mittelalters in der Heidelberger Universitäts-Bibliothek*. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1926. Cloth. Pp. 118. 102 illustrations. 4 colored plates.
- M. Wilmotte, *Le Poème du Gral et ses Auteurs*. Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 102.
- J. S. Zybura, trans., *M. Grabmann: Introduction to the Theological Summa of St Thomas*. St Louis: Herder, 1930. Cloth. Pp. vii+220. \$2.00.

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